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GLEANINGS FROM IRISH HISTORY

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BY
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AUTHOR OF
THE LOMBARD COMMUNES
CONFISCATION IN IRISH HISTORY

WITH 9 MAPS AND A PEDIGREE.

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Made in Ireland.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	ix.
I. THE LORDSHIP OF MAC CARTHY MÓR.	
1. WHAT THE LORDSHIP WAS	1
2. THE SUBJECT CLANS	22
3. THE SEPTS OF THE MAC CARTHYS	49
4. OF DUHALLOW	78
5. OF MUSKERRY	106
6. THE PEDIGREE OF MAC CARTHY MOR	137
II. THE LORDSHIP OF MAC CARTHY REAGH	157
III. THE POLICY OF SURRENDER AND REGRANT	195
IV. THE CROMWELLIAN CONFISCATION IN MUSKERRY	250
APPENDIX A. SOURCES	297
B. MEASURES OF LAND	298
C. THE NON-FREE POPULATION	300
D. THE SEPTS OF THE MAC CARTHYS	303
INDEX	307

LIST OF MAPS.

	FACING PAGE
I. THE LORDSHIP OF MAC CARTHY MÓR : AT BEGINNING OF BOOK 	
II. SOUTH-WEST MUNSTER IN THE SIX- TEENTH CENTURY.. 	156
III. THE BARONY OF CARBERY IN TUDOR TIMES	157
IV. IRELAND UNDER HENRY VIII. 	194
V. IRELAND AT END OF REIGN OF JAMES I..	249
VI. EAST MUSKERRY IN 1641 	268
VII. THE PARISH OF DRISHANE IN 1641.. ..	274
VIII. THE PARISH OF CLONDROHID, WESTERN PART IN 1641 	280
IX. MUSKERRY TO SHOW THE MODERN PARISHES 	295
PEDIGREE OF MAC CARTHY MÓR : AT END OF BOOK.	

INTRODUCTION

The fort over against the oak-wood,
Once it was Bruidge's, it was Cathal's,
It was Aed's, it was Ailill's,
It was Conaing's, it was Cuiline's,
And it was Maelduin's;
The fort remains after each in turn—
And the Kings asleep in the ground.

Long ago, when I lived in Kerry, I used to see the castle of Ballycarbery rising, still an imposing ruin, above a little inlet of the sea. At the edge of the salt water was a fresh water spring. Not far off was a slab of stone, linked by local tradition with the name of a certain Carbery O'Shea. A little way to the north stood a relic of a forgotten age, Cahergal, a circular fort of grey unmortared masonry on a little outcrop of rock.

So well cemented was the masonry of the castle with mortar made from oyster shells, that a huge block, blown out from the main building in the course of the official " sleighting " of the castle at the close of the Cromwellian or Williamite wars, still held together, with window arches intact. So cunningly were the unmortared stones of Cahergal set together, that there were places in the outside of the wall where the blade of a penknife could hardly be inserted between them.

An improving farmer has, I am told, destroyed in recent years much of Ballycarbery. I do not know what survives of Cahergal.

In those days I could find no one to tell me anything of caher, or castle, or spring. But I tried to learn from such books as I could get something about the Mac Carthys, to whom, as I learned from Smith's history of Kerry, Ballycarbery had belonged. And as I found more opportunity and more sources of information I gleaned in a wider field, from printed books, from magazine articles, from the Calendars of State Papers, from manuscript sources in Lambeth, or the Royal Irish Academy, or the Dublin Record Office.

I gathered here an ear or two, there something more, elsewhere a whole handful. And now I bring these scattered

stalks together into a sheaf from which someone may thresh out the ears of fact, to be turned by him into the flour of which he will make the bread of history.

Many of the original documents from which I gleaned my facts are gone for ever, destroyed by the hands of Irishmen in 1922.

Now, looking at the extracts which I took from the Down Survey, the Vallancey maps, the Books of Survey and Distribution, I wish that they had been more extensive, and more minutely set down. But such as they are, I have gathered them together; and what I say I have taken from them may be relied on as faithful transcripts.

The records are gone: the stones of which they told have outlasted them. Of those stones, and of the Mac Carthys and their subjects, who once put them together, I would endeavour to preserve some knowledge.

I begin with the *Lordship of Mac Carthy Mór*, to show what a great Gaelic chieftainship was; the rights of the overlord, the duties of the subjects, the organisation of a Gaelic State. And I have tried to give as full information as I could collect on the clans of South Kerry and West Cork, the ancient Kingdom of Desmond, and to determine what lands each held at the time of the passing away of the old institutions, and of the coming in of English law in their stead.

Then, dealing with Duhallow and Muskerry, I try to show how the Gaelic lordships were altered so as to adapt themselves to the new conditions.

In the *Lordship of Mac Carthy Reagh* I study, from records of Stuart days, how an Irish territory stood when the process of evolution had been completed.

Then I take up for the whole island a study of the *Policy of Surrender and Regrant*, by which this process of evolution had been brought about.

In this I show how the policy, inaugurated by Henry VIII, of giving Irishmen a legal title to their own lands, followed more or less consistently by the Tudors, was gradually departed from under the first James and Charles, and how the result was the great upheaval of 1641, followed by the Cromwellian confiscation, and the wiping out of the greater number of Irish landlords, Gaelic or Norman, and the putting in their place of a new element in the population, alien in race and religion from the mass of the people.

To illustrate this, I give a detailed study of the Cromwellian confiscation as it affected one of the Mac Carthy lands, the Barony of Muskerry.

Some of what I now publish was written twenty or even thirty years ago: my conjectures have since been confirmed to a great extent by the researches of Dr. Bonn and Professor Eoin MacNeill. I have, therefore, especially in the *Policy of Surrender and Regrant*, kept what I originally wrote untouched, referring in foot notes to knowledge acquired in the light of more recent research.

I have tried, as far as possible, to get at facts, the most difficult task in studying Irish history. Undoubtedly polemics are more interesting. Not every one desires to know the exact number of "marriage cows" payable out of Tuath na Dromin, whenever the Lord of Muskerry married a daughter, or will grow enthusiastic over determining the exact boundaries between the O'Sullivans of Glenbeigh and the Sliocht Cormac of Dungle.

But we have polemical writers in plenty. Some write with horror of unscrupulous Elizabethan adventurers dispossessing by unjust aggression the innocent Irish of their lands, though they would send up grateful thanks to Heaven if they suddenly inherited £10,000 in the shares of a chartered company; others talk of "expropriation"—blessed word—and of the necessary advance of a higher civilisation, who themselves would rend the air with their shrieks, if called on to part with what they consider rightfully their own.

Non ragionam di lor.

What conclusions are to be drawn from the facts I have collected?

In the first place, instead of the wild semi-nomadic life of plundering clans depicted by some writers, we have evidence, in Desmond, of an organised State, with an elaborate fiscal system, providing a settled annual revenue for the sovereign and his various sub-chiefs. This revenue was definitely assessed on certain areas of land; it postulates fixed metes and bounds, a considerable amount of tillage. Every clan, every sub-sept, had its own territory; and, on this territory, the amounts due for the support of the hierarchy of chiefs were systematically apportioned.

The Irish, like the Welsh, had solved the problem which baffled the English until the Restoration of the Stuarts, the problem, namely, of providing a fixed revenue for the Crown.

Why, then, if this system was so elaborate, did it evoke such hostility from contemporary English observers; why do we so constantly read of the poverty of the Irish "countries"?

One explanation we may perhaps find in a statement of Sir John Davies in his account of the revenues of Maguire of Fermanagh, “. . . for in right he had no more, and in time of peace he did exact no more; marry in time of war he made himself owner of all, cutting what he listed, and imposing as many bonaghts or hired soldiers on them as he had occasion to use.”

And we shall see, too, the uncertain nature of some of the sovereign's revenues, the entertainment with “a convenient train,” the “uncertain sorrens,” the quartering of guests, or of galloglasses, or of dogs and horses with their dog boys and horse boys, “and all freeholders cry out against it as imposed by extortion and strong hand,” and such like items mentioned in the documents which I quote.

And there was another defect. The Irish system, to work well, demanded men of good will. The laws regulating dynastic succession, the rights to revenue and maintenance of the overlords, demanded loyal obedience. And such obedience was not given. Donnell O'Sullivan Bere attempts to dispossess his uncle, Sir Owen. Sir Owen plans to divert the succession from Donnell. Sir Cormac Mac Teige, of Muskerry, “for conscience sake,” leaves the lands and lordship, of which he had obtained a royal grant, first for life to his heirs by Irish law, and only after their deaths—he names his brother and two nephews—were his own sons to inherit. But the eldest nephew ignores the will, and gets from the Crown a new grant confirming lordship and lands to himself and his posterity.

Nicholas Browne tells us “the chiefest occasion [of dissension] is still between them that challenge by lineal descent and them that challenge by Tanistry.” Again he tells us of the “younger houses” issued out of Mac Carthy Mór's house, that, to avoid the duties and impositions exacted upon them by Mac Carthy Mór, they called the Earl of Desmond to their aid against him.

Three centuries before, the subjects in Thomond “had grown over rich, and in consequence had become turbulent, refusing to pay tribute to their King.” There followed half a century of bloodshed in Thomond.

And, to quote Nicholas Browne again, “they (the Irish) will never endure to acknowledge a superiority over the other.” This is exactly what the two first Jesuits to visit Ireland had said fifty years before.

Have we then the “double dose of original sin?” I turn to Robinson's *History of Western Europe* and pick the following sentences from his description of feudal Europe

about the twelfth century: “. . . in reality brute force governed almost everything outside the Church. The feudal obligations were not fulfilled except when the lord was sufficiently powerful to enforce them.” “The feudal bonds, instead of offering a guarantee of peace and concord, appear to have been a constant cause of violent conflict.” “This chronic dissension extended even to members of the same family: the son, anxious to enjoy a part of his heritage immediately, warred against his father, younger brothers against older, and nephews against uncles who might seek to deprive them of their rights.”

*“ Omnes erant Cesaes; nemo censum dabat.
Civitas Ambrogii sicut Troia stabat ”*

says the medieval chronicler telling of the conditions which prevailed in Lombardy in the days of Frederick Barbarossa.

The same state of affairs then existed in Ireland as in feudal Europe. Yes; but in sixteenth-century Ireland, and in twelfth-century Europe. Twelfth-century Europe shows us strong kings beating down anarchy, introducing the reign of law. Henry II in England, Barbarossa in Germany and Italy, Alfonso the Emperor in Spain, Louis the Fat in France, all wrestled with feudal disorder. And Turlough and Ruaidhri O'Connor do not fall so far behind Louis the Fat.

But while, in the next century, England and France and Spain progressed towards unity and order, Ireland, like Germany and Italy, fails to keep pace with them; and anarchy regains the upper hand.

How is this? I think that, besides the effect of the foreign invasion, we find in Ireland what we may call want of power. The Irish King was a war leader, little more. To call him a constitutional monarch would be a misapplication of terms; but his power was limited, as compared with that of the feudal sovereign. It is curious that in the fourteen generations between the death of King Dermot Mac Carthy and the battle of Kinsale, we do not meet in the history of the sixty “Chyef Capytaynes” who reigned over the sixty “countrys called Regyons inhabytyd with the Kinges Irishe enymyes” a single ruler who may be called a tyrant. Gildas lashes the vices of the British kings of the sixth century: they were murderers of their kinsmen, violators of churches, ravishers of consecrated virgins. But his very invectives show that they were real despotic kings, with power as well as with inclination to

do evil. We may, if we like, assume want of inclination for wrong-doing in Ireland; yet perhaps want of power is more probable.

Yet against this view of mine may be put the fact that even the Norman baron grew milder after a century or so of settlement in Ireland. We meet no Wolf of Badenoch, no Hugh Lupus of Chester, or Robert of Rhuddlan who flayed Welsh captives alive or tore them with harrows. There were early outrages in plenty, the murder by the first invaders of the captive burghers of Waterford, the death of Brian Roe O'Brien at the hands of his ally De Clare, the massacre by De Birmingham of the nobles of Offaly, a deed reminiscent of de Braose's crime in Wales. But this same de Braose flits across the pages of Irish history as the victim of a greater ruffian, King John. Of the Norman barons in England, in the generation immediately preceding Strongbow's invasion, the Anglo-Saxon annalist has left a gruesome picture. Recounting their deeds of darkness men said that God slept. No such picture is given by the Irish annalists of the invaders of this country. Keating even stresses the fact that except for a few among the early invaders, the Norman baron soon laid aside his ferocity, and adopted the gentler spirit of the Gael.

Want of power among the Gaels: a certain softness and want of strength among Gael and Norman: no Wolf of Badenoch; but no William Wallace, no Robert Bruce, no Llewellyn the Great. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show us many a capable figure among the Irish provincial dynasties, a Cormac Mór Mac Carthy, a Turlough "of the Triumphs," a Brian "of the Battle of Aonaigh" among the O'Briens, an Art Mac Murrough in Leinster, an Aedh O'Connor in Connacht, a Niall Mór O'Neill in the North.

But they fall short of greatness. The power to drive out the foreigner, perhaps the will, was wanting. The recorder of the Triumphs of Turlough saw this weakness. As a Dalcassian host was returning from a raid on the English lands, returning at the instigation of the De Burgo Earl, "They were met by a lone woman who approached them, fair of face she was, and of modest mien." . . . "My name is Ireland's sovereignty, and if strangers had not caused you to turn back, the sovereign rule of the whole of Ireland would have been yours."

But no Gaelic leader

“ Drew all their petty princedoms under him,
Their king and head, and made a realm, and reign’d.”

So the Gaelic polity, weakened by incurable dissensions,
went down before Tudor absolutism. Of that polity in
its closing years I try to give a glimpse.

I.

THE LORDSHIP OF MAC CARTHY MOR.

1.—WHAT THE LORDSHIP WAS.

WHEN, in 1515, the young sovereign, Henry VIII, began to turn his attention to his Irish dominions, in which, for close on two centuries, the power of his predecessors had been but nominal, a paper on the state of the country, with a plan for its reformation was drawn up for his perusal.¹ It begins as follows:—

“Who lyste make surmyse to the King for the reformation of his Lande of Ireland, yt is necessary to shewe hym thestate of all the noble folke of the same, aswell of the Kinges subjectes and Englyshe rebelles, as of Iryshe enymyes. And, first of all, to make His Grace understande that ther byn more than 60 countryes, called Regyons, in Ireland, inhabytyd with the Kinges Irishe enymyes, some region as bygge as a shyre, some more, some lesse; where reygneith more than 60 Chyef Capytaynes, wherof some callyth themselfes Kynges, some Kynges Peyres, in their langage, some Prynceis, some Dukes, some Archedukes, that lyveyth onely by the swerde, and obeyeth to no other temperall person, but onely to himself that is stronge: and every of the said Capytaynes makeyth warre and peace for hymself, and holdeith by swerde, and hathe imperiall jurydyction within his rome, and obeyeth to noo other person, Englyshe or Iryshe, except only to suche persones, as may subdue hym by the swerde; of whiche regions and capytaines of the same, followyth immediate.”²

From the sixty or more names contained in the list that follows some four or five stand out pre-eminent, as repre-

¹ It is printed as the first document in State Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. 11, pt. 3, pp. 1-31.

² Noteworthy points in this document are that a clear distinction is made between the King's Irish enemies, and the English rebels, although the latter were “of Iryshe habyt, of Iryshe langage, and of Iryshe conditions”; that the “army” of the Irish chiefs is sharply distinguished from the “comyn folke”; and that some contrasted the government of the Irish princes with that of the King's Deputies to the advantage of the former. Also the writer advised a vigorous effort to subdue the Irish by arms, and then to receive them as subjects, and grant titles to the chiefs.

senting the old provincial royal houses which existed in Ireland at the coming of Henry II. The partial conquest achieved by Strongbow and his followers had not by any means destroyed the power of these ruling families. Even in Leinster there was still an Irish King, signing himself Rex Lageie, as late as 1525, and a successor to the title was elected in 1531.³

In Ulster the O'Neills, in North Munster the O'Briens, in South Munster the Mac Carthys had held their own during the century and a half immediately following on the invasion of the Anglo-Normans; and, during the two centuries following on the invasion of Edward Bruce, they had been steadily increasing in power, and bringing once more under their sway many districts which at one time had been overrun by the foreigner.

Of the royal houses named above we have singularly copious information as to the last named, and as to the lands ruled by it in the sixteenth century. Not only are the documents relating to the Mac Carthys and their subjects numerous; but they have the advantage that they were drawn up partly by native hands, partly by those of government officials. To one, the most copious and most interesting, I shall return later on; the others I shall specify in an appendix. From them we see still working at the close of the sixteenth century the old Gaelic political organisations; and we gain an accurate knowledge of the clans which, in the days of the Tudors, held the western districts of Cork, and the southern half of Kerry.

It is the information collected from these documents, much of it hitherto but imperfectly known, none of it brought together into one connected whole, which I shall endeavour to lay before my readers.

And, first, the meaning of the name Mac Carthy Mór appears to call for some elucidation.

When Henry II landed in Ireland he found Dermot Mac Carthy ruling over the kingdom of Cork, or South Munster, a kingdom of which the bounds are not easy to define.

The original seat of the family from which Dermot was

³Dowling, in his *Annals*, mentions the death, in 1522, of "Geraldus Kavanagh Mac Murchardus qui se fecit vocari regem Lagenie et ducem Lageniensium." See an account of the seal of the Kings of Leinster in the *Journal of the R. H. and A. Assoc. of Ireland*, 4th series, Vol. VI, p. 22.

H. F. Hore, in an article on "The Clan Kavanagh Tempora Henry VIII," quotes Sir George Carew as authority for the last King of Leinster. *Journ. of R. H. and A. Assoc. of Ireland*, new series, Vol. II.

sprung was Eoghanacht Cashel, the territory round Cashel, which roughly corresponds to the modern Barony of Middlethird. Here, in the "fair fertile plain, yew clad, swan haunted, lovely," as an Irish poet describes it, was settled what the genealogists declare to be the senior line of the descendants of Heber, eldest son of Milesius, the heads by seniority of all the Gaelic race. When surnames came into use the ruling families of this region took the names O'Sullivan, Mac Carthy and O'Donoghue. Of these the O'Sullivans are said to be the first, the Mac Carthys the second in order of seniority. Many writers have considered the Mac Carthys to have been from time immemorial the leading family of Munster; and have treated their history as if it was one long record of decline in power and dignity. The truth is different.

Carthagh, from whom the surname Mac Carthy is derived was "burned in a fiery house, with many burned noblemen" in 1045. He is described by the annalists as King of Eoghanacht Cashel. His great-grandfather, Callaghan, had been King of Munster; but for three centuries before him none of his ancestors had held that dignity.

The century following Carthagh's death was an age of turmoil, when the descendants of Brian Boroimhe, head of the Dalcassian race, who had wrested from the Eoghanachts the kingdom of Munster, contended, not without success, with the Ui Neill for the kingdom of the whole island. Suddenly a new competitor appeared. Turlough Mór O'Connor, King of Connaught, struck for the crown against both Ui Neill and the descendants of Brian. The latter were weakened in their struggle by the fact that the Eoghanacht clans of Munster could not forget that for ages they had held the kingship of the province. Turlough took advantage of this rivalry. He set up a Eoghanacht chief, Tadhg, son of Muireadhach, son of Carthagh, as a rival to the O'Briens.⁴ He did not want a strong kingdom of Munster, so he divided the province into two kingdoms, to which, in later times, we find the names Tuath Mumhan, or North Munster, and Deas Mumhan, or South Munster, and set up Tadhg as king of the latter kingdom. This is the true beginning of the kingdom of South Munster and of the power of the Mac Carthy family.

⁴This was in 1118. In spite of Lambeth pedigrees it is certain that Tadhg was son of Muireadhach, not of Carthagh, as many writers have asserted. There is still extant a reliquary of St. Lachtain with the inscription "Pray for Tadhg, son of Mac Carthy, for the King," i.e., the word King is an apposition to Tadhg; and further, "Pray for Cormac, son of Mac Carthy, the Righ Damhna."

Turlough's plan succeeded about as well as such plans ever do. It permanently weakened Munster; it did not secure any lasting devotion to Connacht on the part of the Eoghanachts.

To Tadhg succeeded, in 1124, his brother Cormac. Harassed by revolts of his own subjects and by attacks from Turlogh O'Connor, he yet succeeded in obtaining recognition, though only for a time, as King of the whole province. His name is imperishably linked with that gem of Hiberno-Romanesque architecture, Cormac's chapel, on the rock of Cashel. He was murdered in his own house on the Rock in 1138.

He left able sons to succeed him, between whom and the O'Briens a partition was made of Munster in 1168, after many years of confused warfare.

So when the Anglo-Normans landed in the following year they found North Munster in the hands of Donnell Mór O'Brien, and South Munster ruled over by Dermot, son of Cormac Mac Carthy.

When King Henry II landed in Waterford, in 1171, King Dermot came to him of his own accord, swore fealty to him, did homage, promised tribute, and apparently gave one of his sons as a hostage.

Dermot was the first Irish King to submit to Henry; yet this did not prevent Henry from granting, just six years later, the whole "Kingdom of Cork" except the city of Cork and the adjacent "cantred of the Ostmen," to Robert Fitz Stephen, and Milo de Cogan, for the service of sixty knights.

The bounds of this Kingdom are given in a very vague fashion. Evidently North Kerry was not supposed to form part of it, nor the Kingdom of the Deisi from Lismore eastwards. As regards its limits towards the north one can only say that there seems nothing to explain the present boundaries between the County Cork and the Counties of Limerick and Tipperary; for part, at least, of the present Limerick was treated as being within the grant; and in 1206 an enquiry was ordered as to whether certain districts in east Tipperary were in the Kingdom of Limerick or in that of Cork.

According to Giraldus Cambrensis, King Dermot came to terms with the grantees, after some fighting in which the invaders were helped by the O'Briens.

Seven cantreds near Cork were ceded to Fitz Stephen and De Cogan; Dermot keeping the remainder of the thirty-one cantreds which made up his Kingdom.

Possibly, however, all that Giraldus means is that the

grantees were only able to seize on the seven cantreds round Cork city, and agreed to divide the revenues of the rest when they had conquered them.

Some years of alternate peace and hostility followed until, in 1185, Dermod was slain by Theobald Walter, ancestor of the house of Ormond.

Years of confusion followed. Dermod was succeeded in the remains of his Kingdom by his son, Donnell Mór, also surnamed "na Curra." He was a warlike leader, and in 1196 expelled the invaders from the city of Limerick. He died in 1206. His brother, Finghin, succeeded, and was slain in 1209 by his own people.

A period of confusion followed, in which various Mac Carthys contended for the now vanishing Kingdom. To internal conflicts were added attacks from the Anglo-Norman invaders and, above all, from the O'Briens. The latter, instead of joining in resistance to the foreigner, seem to have turned their attention to rooting out the clans of Eoghanacht race from what is now County Limerick.

Their raids extended to the Lakes of Killarney, and far south into County Cork. They drove from their homes a large section of the population of County Limerick; and the clans thus expelled—the chief being the O'Donovans and the O'Collinses—won for themselves new homes in County Cork, in the Barony of Carbery, at the expense of the original owners, the O'Mahonys and the O'Driscolls.

Probably about the same time took place the migration into south-west Cork and south Kerry of the Mac Carthys and O'Sullivan from Tipperary. This is one of the most obscure points in Irish history. We cannot say exactly how it happened: we know that it did happen.

Immediately after King Dermod's death in 1185, Prince John granted north Tipperary to his slayer, Theobald Walter, and south Tipperary to Philip de Wigornia, or Worcester. Tipperary, or at least the level portions of the county, was at once overrun by the invaders; and we must suppose that the more warlike among the Irish abandoned their homes and sought new ones in the mountains of the south-west. We have no real record of this migration, which probably extended over a considerable period. All we can say is that in the sixteenth century the O'Sullivan held the greater part of the two peninsulas which project between Bantry Bay and Dingle Bay; and that the greater part of the rest of these belonged to septs of the Mac Carthys, descended from King Dermod. Various other branches of the Mac Carthys, also descended from King Dermod, held the baronies of Glane-

rought and Magunihy in Kerry, and those of Duhallow, Muskerry and Carbery in Cork. In some cases, such as those of the O'Sheas in Iveragh, and the O'Flynnns in Muskerry, the former owners disappear from the rank of land owners. In other cases clans have shifted their ground, or hold only limited portions of their former possessions.

The Irish annals preserve for us a few isolated notices of conflicts arising out of this great migration; but, except for these, we are left to conjecture what really happened.

Amidst the confusion of the opening years of the thirteenth century the sons of Donnell Mór, in spite of conflicts among themselves, preserved the title of King of Desmond, and the rule over such territories as remained to the Irish.

Dermod Cluasach, Finghin's successor, successfully resisted a combined attack by Donough Cairbrech O'Brien and the foreigners in 1214; but next year he and his next brother, Cormac Fionn, quarrelled; and the English incastellated a large district in Kerry. Dermod is mentioned as joining in a hosting of the foreigners and Gael of Erin against the son of Hugo (de Lacy) and Aedh O'Neill. From this, and from the fact that he was married to Petronilla de Bloet, of a Norman family, we may infer that, for the latter part of his life at least, he was on friendly terms with the invaders.

His brother and successor, Cormac Fionn, seems also to have been recognised as King over as much of his former Kingdom as had not been parcelled out among the foreigners; and the fact that he died at his own house at Mashanaglass in Muskerry would show that he still held lands not very far from Cork.

But the Norman invaders were still pushing forward to fresh conquests. They settled first of all in the flat country, taking advantage of the dissensions of the natives; and leaving such of these as supported them in possession of the wilder regions, until such time as, with increasing strength, they pushed forward and annexed fresh tracts of country. In this way they seized all east Cork, all Limerick, except the hilly eastern part, and all north Kerry. The tide of invasion lapped up to the foot of the Kerry Reeks, and up the estuaries of the Kerry coast. The rents of Iveragh were paid to the head of the Munster Geraldines at his castle of Killorglin. Dunkerron, Ardtully and Berehaven are said to have been strongholds of the foreigner; as well as many a castle on the headlands of the fretted coast of Carbery. The Mac Carthys and their

subjects still maintained a precarious independence in the wild hill country of the interior.

At length the Geraldines, the dominant family of the invaders in south-west Munster, determined on a final effort to break the power of the natives. A great force of the foreigners marched into the hill country behind Mangerton; and with them went Donnell Roe Mac Carthy, son of Cormac Fionn, who claimed the headship of the family, for the moment held by his cousins, sons of Donnell Gott, youngest son of Donnell Mór.

At Callan Glen, in the valley of the Roughty, the two forces met; and victory fell to the native race. The annalists tell us, in bald language, of the great men of the foreigners slain on the field, and of the castles which fell one after the other before the onslaught of the Irish. Finghin, the victor of Callan, himself fell in an unsuccessful attack on the De Courcy stronghold of Ringrone in the year of his victory; and in the next year Mac William Burke renewed the attack on Desmond. High up on the slopes of Mangerton, the Ordnance maps show "the battle field of Tooreen Cormac" preserving the memory of a battle, "the joy and sorrow of Des Mumha," for Cormac, son of Donnell Gott was slain on that same day. But victory apparently rested with his followers. For twelve years, as an old chronicler forcibly puts it, "the Carties played the divill in Desmond."

Donnell Roe, son of Cormac Fionn, had fought on the side of the foreigner at Callan. But he reaped to the full the fruits of victory. The sons of Donnell Gott directed their energies to the expulsion of the foreigners from Carbery; and Donnell Roe established himself as King of Desmond. With him begins the most glorious period in the history of his house. The Irish pressed down from their mountain strongholds, and recovered district after district in the level country from the enemy.

This revival of Irish power continued during the forty years of Donnell Roe's rule after the battle of Callan, and during the fifty-six years' reign of his grandson, Cormac Mór.

Magunihy was cleared of settlers; the clans of Duhallow, freed from any dependence on the foreigner, were placed under the direct rule of an offshoot from the main Mac Carthy stock; De Cogan and Barrett were driven from the valley of the Lee; Blarney, seven miles from Cork, became a Mac Carthy stronghold.⁵

⁵ The Exchequer Memoranda, Ed. III, show an Irish recovery of the valleys of the Lee and Bride, a reconquest by Lionel Duke of

The Kingdom of Desmond stretched from Valentia Island almost to the walls of Cork.

But the sons of Donnell Gott seem to have shaken themselves free from dependence on the senior branch of the family; and, with the designation of Mac Carthy Reagh, ruled Carbery as independent sovereigns.

In time, too, the Earls of Desmond, who had succeeded, or claimed to have succeeded, in some fashion which we cannot well explain, to the rights of De Cogan and Fitz Stephen, recovered from the defeat of their ancestor at Callan.

Some kind of agreement or treaty must have been made by which the Irish were left in possession of somewhat more than half of Cork and Kerry.⁶

The overlordship of the Earls of Desmond seems to have been recognised. The Irish were to aid the Earls in war; they were to pay the sum of £214 11s. 2d. yearly from Desmond, and a tribute of beeves from Carbery.⁷

From a grant by James I to O'Sullivan Bere of rents, payable from certain lands in Bere to the Earl of Desmond, we learn that this sum was carefully apportioned on definite areas of land. But one would like to know how the Earl's rent collectors fared among the mountains of Iveragh and Glanerought.

From Donnell Roe, who died in 1302, the rule over Desmond passed for two centuries direct from father to son without a break. Possibly with the object of securing this direct succession, the younger sons of the head of the house obtained for themselves in each generation extensive districts as subordinate lordships, and transmitted them to their descendants, who, in some cases, broke away from subjection to the main line. Hence we find that while, in

Clarence, an order to the "Anglici" to return and inhabit their lands on pain of forfeiture. The state of affairs in the sixteenth century shows the ultimate reconquest of much of these districts by the Irish.

⁶Cal. State Papers, 1587, p. 368. "so appearing in that it is also found for the Queen that not only Mac Carthy Mór, but also all the chief men of that country held their lands of him (i.e., the Earl of Desmond) by services and yearly rents, which rents amount in the whole to £214 11s. 2d. sterling." Sir V. Browne to Burghley.

⁷References to the "Carbery beeves" are numerous. "The Manor of Kilbrittaine, Mac Karthie Rewghe's chief dwelling place, whereof the Earl claims of chief rent 67 beefs yearly. Mc' Karthie and his predecessors were wont to answer and rise with all the strength and force of his men victualled for three days, receiving then at the Earl's hand some benevolence, as horse and harness and such like." *Car. Cal.*, 1572, p. 417.

In the Fiant, Eliz., No. 5278, A.D. 1588, there is a grant to

the sixteenth century, the lands ruled by the Mac Carthys were extensive and populous, the heads of the family never played a part in Irish affairs comparable to that played by the O'Neills, the O'Donnells, or the O'Briens.

Tadhg "of the Monastery," great-great-grandson of Donnell Roe, is the last of the line to whom the annalists give the title of King of Desmond. He was a contemporary of Richard II, to whom he made a submission in very abject terms. Amongst other things, he says that he did not hold any possessions "save those which from of old I have obtained under your lordship and that of my lord the Earl of Desmond."⁸

We find Tadhg's successors no longer called King, but distinguished as Mac Carthy Mór. Some writers have asserted that this designation, Mór, was adopted as early as the days of Donnell Mór na Curra, to replace the earlier title of King. It is also stated in Frost's *History of Clare*, on the authority of the work known as *The Wars of Thomond*, or *The Triumphs of Turlough*, that Donough Cairbreach O'Brien, who died in 1242, was the first to call himself O'Brien. But his successors are called Kings, at least by the native annalists, down to the time of Murrough, who was inaugurated in 1540. There were Kings of Connacht down to 1385, and of Leinster as late as the days of Henry VIII. But the fashion seems to have grown up, perhaps as early as the thirteenth century, of using the surname without Christian name or other prefix, as a title, instead of any territorial designation. It was, perhaps, felt absurd to give the prefix *rex* to every lord of a petty territory. The greater chiefs still used the title, and it is given to them in official English documents down, at any rate, to the fourteenth century. But by the sixteenth

Florence Mac Carthy of a yearly rent paid out of Carbery to the Earl of Desmond of 67½ cows.

In *Cal. State Papers*, 1600-01, p. 138, it is said that 100 beeves had been payable yearly from Carbery to the Earl, and that these had been granted to Florence. There is also a reference to this "most unjust and slavish tribute" as still paid in his day by the author of *Carbria Notitia* about 1690.

These "Earl's beeves," or some of them, were afterwards granted to the Jephson family of Mallow. In 1636 £62 15s. yearly was paid to this family instead of them. (Extract from *Lismore Papers*, in article by H. F. Berry on the *English Settlement in Mallow: Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, second series, Vol. XII.)

From *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, p. 106, we learn from an inquisition on the lands of the O'Driscolls that the territory of Collymore was liable for eight of these beeves, or for "eight nobles sterling, at the election of the said O'Driscoll."

⁸I am indebted to Professor Curtis for a copy of this "submission."

century the man who in the twelfth century would have been described as King of Thomond or of Tir Eoghan, had become known simply as O'Brien or O'Neill. In the case of the Mac Carthys, the title King seems to have been dropped from the beginning of the fifteenth century; and the adjective Mór was affixed to the surname, either to signify their pre-eminence over all the other branches of the family, or simply to distinguish them from the Lords of Carbery, who had taken the name of Mac Carthy Reagh.

At last, in 1552, when the power of the Tudor monarchs was making itself felt in Ireland, the reigning Mac Carthy Mór, Donnell an Druimin, submitted to the Crown, and obtained a grant of "English liberty" for himself, his daughter, the Lady Ellene, and his son, also called Donnell.

This latter Donnell in or about 1565 renounced the title of Mac Carthy Mór, and was created Earl of Clancarthy.⁹

The character of this last independent ruler of Desmond, first and last Earl of Clancarthy, of the main line of the descendants of King Dermot who fell in 1185, is somewhat perplexing. He was a drunkard, a profligate, and a spendthrift; but he was also a religious poet of no small merit; he had the sagacity to see that the best policy for the Gaelic chiefs to pursue was to accept the supremacy of the Crown; and he had the strength of mind to hold fast to his loyalty through all the turmoil of rebellion which disturbed Elizabeth's reign.¹⁰ He witnessed the utter overthrow of the great house of the Geraldines of Desmond, so long the deadly foe of his own—an overthrow to which his efforts helped to contribute; and he raised the fortunes of his race to a higher point than they had ever reached since the coming of the Normans.¹¹

He died in 1596, leaving by his wife (a daughter of the fifteenth Earl of Desmond) only one surviving child, a daughter, Ellen, married to Florence Mac Carthy, tanist to the second great Mac Carthy chief, Mac Carthy Reagh of Carbery. At once the question arose, what was to become of his dominions. He had no near male relations, for he

⁹ A Lambeth pedigree, Vol. 626, gives the date of creation of the Earldom as 1566.

¹⁰ He took part for a short time in the first Geraldine rebellion, that headed by Sir James FitzMaurice FitzGerald in 1569. This was when the claims of Sir Peter Carew had alarmed all the Munster lords, Gaelic and Norman alike.

¹¹ Nicholas Browne says:—"At this tyme these Irishe septs are of greater force and strength than they weare these 300 years." (*Munster in 1597*. From a State Paper in the British Museum, published by Mr. James Buckley: *Jour. C. H. and A. Soc.*, 1906.)

had no surviving brothers, and neither his uncle, nor his granduncle had left any male descendants.

We need not go into the claims to the lordship put forward by various members of the Mac Carthy clan, nor into the difficulties which confronted the Government, for they are given at length in the *Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Mór*. As a step towards the settlement, a Government Commission was appointed to make a survey of all the lands, lordships and revenues belonging to the dignity of Mac Carthy Mór; and it is this survey which forms the groundwork of this paper.¹²

The report of the surveyors, made probably in the year 1598, is preserved among the Carew MSS. in Lambeth Palace.¹³ Of its value, as well as of that of the maps which accompany it, it is almost impossible to speak too highly. From it we learn the names of all the Irish clans in South Kerry in the sixteenth century, as well as their geographical distribution. It also shows us, with a clearness found nowhere else, the internal organisation of a great Celtic chieftainship; and so displays to us, as functioning in the sixteenth century, that "tribal system," of which writers like Mr. Seeböhm, Mr. Skene, and Professor Rhys, have had to try and explain the working, by Welsh evidences, of a much earlier period and a more confusing character.

Yet, strange to say, this survey has not been published; nor is it, as far as I can find, in any way alluded to in the Calendar of the Carew MSS. published by Messrs. Brewer and Bullen, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. There is not in these Calendars the smallest allusion to the maps; yet these are, both from their execution and contents, of the very highest value. They are surprisingly accurate—for the period—especially when we remember the dangers and difficulties in the way of making a survey of such an inaccessible region. They are brilliantly coloured, and in perfect preservation, the names written on them being perfectly legible, and the ink almost as fresh as on the day they were written. Besides one general map of all Kerry, they consist of maps of each of the baronies of Magunihiy, Dunkerron, Iveragh, Glanerought, and of the island of

¹² The idea of this Commission was suggested by Nicholas Browne, in his report on Munster already cited. The date of this report is 1597. The date of the decision of the Lord Lieutenant and Council *re* the Earl's lands is March 16th, 1598-9 (*Life and Letters*, p. 182). Hence the survey must have been made between these dates.

¹³ In Vol. 625. This same volume contains much information with regard to King James' confiscations in Leitrim, Longford, King's County, etc. Yet none of the contents of this volume have ever been calendared, as far as I know. One would like to know why.

Valentia. From them, and from the text of the survey, I have been able to construct the map of the Lordship of Mac Carthy Mór, with its various sub-divisions, as they existed in the sixteenth century.

We come first to the actual extent of the dominions of Mac Carthy Mór. If we suppose a traveller to set out from Cork by rail, he sees at Blarney the most easterly fortress of the Mac Carthys. Just beyond Mourne Abbey he sees to the left the little river Clydagh, which divided the lands of the O'Callaghans, subjects of Mac Carthy Mór, from the territories held by the Norman Roches and Geraldines. At Mallow he leaves the land obedient since the days of Henry II to English rule, and proceeds up the valley of the Blackwater, through the territory of Duhallow, ruled by an offshoot of the Mac Carthys, who had taken the surname of Mac Donough. At Killarney, and at Farranfore, he is still in Gaelic territory. But at Castlemaine he comes once more to English land. Here the Earls of Desmond had a castle commanding a passage over the Maine, and giving access to Killorglin, an outpost against the Gael, entrusted in the Middle Ages, as was often the case, to the warlike Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.¹⁴

Proceeding south-westward from Killorglin, the old coach road to Cahirciveen marks for a time the boundary between the Englishry and the Irishry. But soon road and railway again enter Mac Carthy's lands, and the traveller proceeds under the shadow of frowning mountain bulwarks, until at Cahirciveen he sees rising in the distance the still imposing ruin of that chieftain's most western fortress—Ballycarbery. Thence, if our traveller pursues his route along the windings of that loveliest of coasts, his way still lies through the lands which owed allegiance to the head of the Clan Carthy. At Bantry he quits his dominions, but is still in Mac Carthy land—the territory of Carbery, ruled by Mac Carthy Reagh, an offshoot of the main house, who had freed himself from all dependence on the parent stock. Through his lands he proceeds along the banks of

“ Pleasant Bandon crowned with many a wood,”

until at Inishannon he crosses the river for the last time, and comes once more into Anglo-Norman territory.

The district which, in imagination, has been journeyed

¹⁴ The lands of the Abbey of Killaha, along with those of Killorglin, and some portions belonging to the Knight of Kerry, made up that portion of the barony of Trughanacmy which lies between the Maine and Laune, and south of the latter river. The

round is about 2,700 square miles in extent; it is nearly half the size of the modern Kingdom of Saxony, and almost four times as great as the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.¹⁵ From this, however, we must deduct the 620 square miles ruled by Mac Carthy Reagh, as lying outside the dominion of Mac Carthy Mór. And of the Cork portion of the remainder, the territory of Muskerry, occupying the watershed of the Lee from Ballincollig westwards, and Duhallow, occupying the watershed of the Upper Blackwater, stood in a relationship to Mac Carthy Mór different from that of the rest of his dominions.¹⁶ Each formed a separate lordship under a branch of the Mac Carthy house, having under it various subject clans; in each of these the rights of Mac Carthy Mór as overlord were but small. In Muskerry, besides the right of calling out all the fighting men to serve him in war time, he had only the finding, *i.e.*, the right of quartering on the country, of thirty gallowglasses—heavy-armed foot-soldiers, as well as “the finding of him for a certain time,” *i.e.*, the right of being fed and lodged at the expense of the country, and, in addition, the castle and lands of Mashanaglass, to give him a hold on the country.

In Duhallow, in addition to “rising out” the “finding” of twenty-seven gallowglasses, and certain lands, he had only “sorren” four times a year. The other duties payable by the subject clans went to the actual subordinate lord.

This sorren was commuted for an annual payment of £26 13s. 4d.

The territory ruled over by Mac Carthy Mór falls then into three parts. First, the district more immediately under his sway, namely Kerry south of the river Maine, and the baronies of Bere and Bantry in the west of Cork. These districts bore during the sixteenth century the name of Desmond, and formed, for a time at least, a separate county, probably because Mac Carthy Mór on his submission to the Crown refused to have his territories included in Kerry, where the Earl of Desmond as Lord Palatine held complete jurisdiction except as regards the four pleas reserved to the Crown in Palatine grants.¹⁷

Abbey of Killaha, founded by Normans, paid Mac Carthy Mór “£4 a year, or thereabouts,” according to Sir William Herbert. The Survey says he had from it a cuddy or five marks, half-face money equal to £4 8s. 8d., at the choice of the Prior.

¹⁵ Saxony has 5,836 square miles; Oldenburg 2,500; Saxe-Coburg-Gotha 763.

¹⁶ The ancient Muskerry and Duhallow between them had nearly 800 square miles.

¹⁷ Desmond and Kerry are said to have been first joined into one county by Sir John Perrot (Nicholas Browne's Report, *Journal*,

There seems no way of determining at what period the name of Desmond, which in the twelfth century was applied to the whole of Cork and Kerry, was limited to the comparatively small district above-mentioned. The different application of the name Desmond at different times causes some confusion, especially as the name was sometimes applied to the country ruled by the Earls of Desmond. However, in Elizabethan writers, Desmond, by a curious anomaly, almost always means the country which did *not* belong to the Earls of Desmond.¹⁸

Next, there was the territory of Duhallow corresponding to the modern barony of that name in County Cork. South of this was Muskerry. A more detailed account of these two districts will be given later.

Within the limits of Desmond itself the Survey, which forms the basis of this paper, only touches slightly on the two baronies of Bere and Bantry.

The reason is that, already in 1587, the Government had been called on to decide between the claims of two competitors for the dignity of O'Sullivan Bere. On this occasion some sort of survey of these districts had been made, as well as a map. Also, among the MSS. calendered in the Carew Calendars under the date of 1565, there is a statement of the obligations of O'Sullivan Bere to Mac Carthy Mór. These details were probably considered sufficient to do away with the necessity of a fresh survey.

The territory fully dealt with, then, consisted of the three baronies of Magunihy, Dunkerron, and Iveragh, and the half barony of Glanerought—roughly speaking, Kerry south of the Maine.¹⁹

From the term "half-barony" applied to Glanerought, Bere, and Bantry, it would appear that a barony, in the sense used in the Survey, and in some other documents, meant a definite amount of tax-paying land. It represented the old Irish *trichaced*, a term which Giraldus Cambrensis equates with the Welsh *cantref*. This was divided into thirty ballybetaghs (Irish, baile biathadh) each containing twelve ploughlands. A quarter of a Ballybetagh would, therefore, contain three ploughlands, and this "quarter" is the

Cork Hist. and Arch. Society, 1906, p. 61). But their final union, and the allotment of Bere and Bantry to County Cork, was made in 1606.—*Cal. State Papers*.

¹⁸ In Elizabeth's day five divisions of Munster were distinguished, viz.: North, East, Middle, West, and South. For these and their Irish names see *Cal. State Papers*, 1586, p. 234.

¹⁹ The modern baronies of Iveragh, Dunkerron and Magunihy do not entirely correspond with the 16th century baronies, as I explain further on.

normal unit of area referred to in the Survey, and in other documents relating to south-west Munster. As for the ploughland it was normally valued at 120 acres of arable land, along, probably, with a certain amount of rough pasture. From the Books of Survey and Distribution we know that in Kerry the ploughland varied in extent with the goodness or badness of the soil. Thus in Dunkerron the ploughland of Dromrosky had 571 acres, and that of Dernairy 502,²⁰ and in Bantry the three ploughlands of Glengarriffe contained 3,796 acres.²¹

The power of a chief such as Mac Carthy Mór rested on a twofold basis. He was direct head of his own name and clan, which itself occupied the foremost rank among a group of families claiming descent, as a rule, from a common ancestor. The head of this chief clan was, moreover, in virtue of his office, overlord of the chiefs of the lesser clans, and had, in theory at least, very considerable rights over them and their subjects. In the Tudor period there were, as I have said, five or six overlords possessing this extensive authority, and representing to some extent the old kingdoms which had existed before the Anglo-Norman invasion.

The rights of these overlords, as may be gathered from reports of the English officials, or of the chiefs themselves, published in the *Calendar of State Papers*, or from various *Inquisitiones post mortem*, or from the grants in the reign of James I. were much as follows:

1. The chiefs of the subject clans were inaugurated by the paramount chief, that is, they were first elected by their own immediate clan and recognised as chief on receiving a white rod from the overlord. On the other hand, the paramount chief himself was inaugurated by his chief vassal, who presented him with the white rod, and who, therefore, practically possessed a veto on the election made by the ruling clan. That this veto was effectual appears from the contests that arose in 1598 after the death of the Earl of Clancarthy, when O'Sullivan Mór, on whom devolved the giving of the rod, refused to give it either to Donnell, the Earl's son, or to Mac Donough Mac Carthy, of Duhallow, and so kept the chieftainship for Florence of Carbery.²²

²⁰ Books of Survey and Distribution, Co. Kerry.

²¹ Down Survey, Co. Cork.

²² *Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Mór*, p. 220. For full details of inauguration of chiefs see *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 425. In *Cal. State Papers*, 1592, p. 499, we are told that no one not named or chosen by O'Cahane is to be obeyed or taken for O'Neill.

Mac Carthy Mór was inaugurated at Lisbanagher, in Co. Kerry.

2. "Rising out," that is to say, the subject clans were bound to assist their superior in time of war with all their forces.

3. In each of the subject territories the overlord had lands set apart for him as his own demesne, which were cultivated as a rule by his tenants at will.

4. The right of being entertained with his personal followers at the expense of his subjects, for a specified number of days, at fixed periods of the year. From a deed by Donnell Earl of Clancarthy in 1584, and from a list of the rights of the tanist of Muskerry, in the *Carew Calendar*, 1600 A.D., it appears that the chief might have the provisions sent to his residence, or might take instead a fixed sum of money.²³ It was this right greatly extended and abused by lords of Norman origin that is so frequently denounced in the documents of Tudor times under the names of "Coshering," "Coyne and Livery," etc.

It was from Nos. 3 and 4 that the resources of the great chiefs mainly sprang.

5. A money tribute assessed with great minuteness on the various townlands occupied by the vassal tribes. This was not a rent, but more in the nature of a land tax. The chieftain's wife also had from certain lands a tribute called "Lady's gold."²⁴

6. The right of quartering a certain number of "gallow-glasses," heavy armed mercenary troops, the standing army of the period, on the subject clans. In time of war these mercenaries seem to have been quartered to any extent on the farmers.

7. If the ruling house of a subject clan died out the head chief succeeded to its rights.²⁵

These do not exhaust the various privileges of the overlord. At the same time these privileges differed in different districts. The chiefs of the subject clans in turn had similar rights over their own particular districts,²⁶ having large demesnes as chiefs, and rents, duties, etc., from the clansmen. Under them were the heads of the lesser divisions of the clan, the petty chiefs of the various "septs."

²³ *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. XV; for Earl of Clancarthy.

²⁴ "Mac Namara's Rental," in Frost's *History of Clare*. He copies it from Vol. XV of *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*.

²⁵ In Clare, the O'Briens succeeded in the 16th century to the lands of the O'Conors of Corcomroe on this ground. (Frost's *History of Clare*, p. 93; *Annals F.M.*, 1564.)

²⁶ See "Mac Namara's Rent Roll," Frost's *History of Clare*, p. 36; also "O'Sullivan Bere's Revenues, etc.," *Calendar State Papers*, 1587 A.D.

These septs formed the ultimate political division, and owned collectively a definite portion of the tribal land. Thus we find that Mac Carthy Reagh had under him O'Driscoll Mór, and under O'Driscoll Mór were the different septs or lineages of the O'Driscolls, such as Sliocht Teige O'Driscoll, Sliocht Dermot O'Driscoll, and others, each with its fixed share of land.²⁷ It is apparently the members of these septs of land-owners who so often figure in the State Papers under the name of "freeholders," and in Irish documents as "hereditary proprietors." It is noticeable that in Tudor times we find but few, if any, traces of private ownership; for, even if the chief men of the septs acquired private estates, these were shared after their death among all their sons.

On the freeholders and small proprietors or "lesser gentry," but still more on the tenants at will of the lords fell the whole weight of the support of the chiefs.

The rights of a great chief such as O'Brien or Mac Carthy Mór were, as we have seen, very great, at least in theory. Practically however the power of the overlord depended on the extent of the territory occupied by the clan that bore his own name, and was under his direct rule; and this, because there was no easy way of enforcing these rights over the subordinate chiefs. Under the feudal system the suzerain was the proprietor of the land; the vassals held their estates on condition of performing certain duties. If they failed in performing them their lands were forfeited to the superior; and it was easy to get the sentence executed by promising to distribute the forfeited lands amongst those who carried out the wishes of the overlord. But, by the Irish system, the overlord was in no way the proprietor of the subjects' lands; these belonged to the septs that dwelt on them. If the vassal refused obedience he might be compelled to submission by fire and sword; but unless the whole vassal clan was exterminated the suzerain gained no right to the ownership of its territory. Even if the ruling family of the vassal clan was destroyed there were generally other branches eligible to take its place, or at most the overlord entered into possession of the rights and lands of the sub-chief, while the rest of the country remained in the hands of the septs of freeholders. There was thus less inducement for the other vassals to help their lord; besides, it was not likely that they would aid in doing to their fellows violence which might afterwards be turned on themselves. Hence the suzerain had to rely on his own immediate followers for the assertion of his rights; and, no matter how often he reduced his refractory subjects, he gained no permanent

²⁷ *Miscellany of Celtic Society*: tract on "Corea Laidhe," p. 106.

increase of territory or power by so doing. The vassal clans might submit for a time, but could refuse obedience again at the first opportunity. Thus we find in every part of Ireland, almost every year, fierce dissensions between the heads of the ruling clans and their subjects, arising from efforts to enforce these rights.

The number of men of his own immediate following which the head chief could put in the field was then the chief factor of his power. In some of the northern clans this number was very considerable. Almost the whole of Tyrone was inhabited by O'Neills, and there were no important sub-divisions of the name in the county. Hence O'Neill was able, as a rule, to enforce his rights over the other dependent chiefs, none of whom ruled over as large a district as did his suzerain. Again, O'Reilly of Cavan could muster four hundred horsemen of his own name,²⁸ and almost the whole county of Cavan was inhabited by O'Reillys. Now it was precisely this chief who gave O'Neill the greatest amount of trouble by refusing obedience; and the dissensions between the two clans were of the greatest use to Elizabeth's government in the wars against Shane and Hugh O'Neill. On the other hand, the territories directly ruled by Mac Carthy Mór as chief of his own clan were comparatively speaking small; by far the larger amount of the territory inhabited by the Mac Carthys being under the rule of separate branches, offshoots from the main stem, such as the lords of Muskerry. In fact, in the time of Elizabeth, even when several minor chiefs had died out, and their lands had reverted to the head of the house, Mac Carthy of Muskerry and O'Sullivan Mór were at least equal in power to their nominal superior.²⁹

Such was in general the position of the greater Irish chiefs. There is reason to believe, however, that there was a considerable difference between the state of affairs in parts of Ulster and in the rest of Ireland. The north was mainly a pastoral country. In the south more settled conditions of life prevailed; and it is probable that there was a more complex system of social organisation. It is well to remember that, while in Tyrone there was scarcely a

²⁸ Hogan: *Description of Ireland in 1598*, p. 120, for O'Reilly; same work for Tyrone.

²⁹ Nicholas Browne says: "For their being many houses issued out of Mac Carthy Mór's house, whereby his lands grew to a very small proportion, then he began to exact duties and impositions upon these younger houses which they would not endure; but being not able of themselves to defend their right called the Earl of Desmond to their aid, who presently assisted them, and continued them enemies to Mac Carthy Mór, and so continue to this day."

stone secular building at the end of Elizabeth's reign, and in Monaghan none, in the equally Gaelic district of Clare we know of some hundred and seventy stone castles.³⁰

Of the organisation of Desmond we get an idea, first from a document sent to Burghley in 1588, attributed to Sir William Herbert,³¹ and, secondly, and more accurately from the report of the Commission mentioned above. On these two documents, especially on the second, I base what follows.

This report falls into three parts. There is, first, a list of all the lands held by the late Earl at the time of his death—those, namely, which he possessed as private property, having acquired them by purchase or from the Crown, and those the use of which he enjoyed for his life, to maintain the dignity of his office—the demesne lands attached to the title of Mac Carthy Mór. These lands amounted to some sixty-five ploughlands, each estimated at 120 acres of profitable land; and with them went the three great castles—Ballycarbery, on the shores of Valentia harbour; Castle Lough, on a small island opposite the modern Lake Hotel, Killarney; and his chief house, "The Palace," north of the river Laune, not far from Dunloe. Whoever could get possession of these was certain of securing the dignity of Mac Carthy Mór.³²

Much more curious is the general list of all Mac Carthy's rights as lord of all Desmond. There are ten separate headings, all worth giving, as showing what were those "Irish cuttings and spendings" so often denounced by Tudor statesmen. I have, as a rule, only given the substance of what is under each heading, modernizing the spelling.

"A note of such kinds of rents and duties as the lords

³⁰ See White's *History of Clare*, Appendix II, for list of castles in Clare from a MS. in Trinity College Library compiled in 1574 or 1584. For Tyrone and Monaghan see *Car. Cal.*, 1586, p. 435.

³¹ Given in *Cal. State Papers*. The tract is unsigned. The Editor of the *Calendar* attributes it to Herbert. It is assigned to Sir Warham St. Leger by the author of *Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Mór*.

³² According to N. Browne, "the cheif rents and sarvices (weh are Mac Carthy's greatest living) were alwayes due" to those manors, i.e., Castle Lough, Pallis or Palace, and Ballycarbery.—(Letter of December 4th, 1594; *Life and Letters of F. Mac Carthy Mór*, p. 123.)

The last Mac Carthy Mór had no near male relatives, as neither his only uncle nor his only grand-uncle on his father's side had left male descendants, and he had no legitimate brothers. Hence he had in his possession the lands which would have been allotted to the kindred of the chief, as well as the actual chiefly demesne.

and freeholders in Desmond did customarily use to pay to the Earls of Clancarthy."

- I. GAREMSLOEG.—"A rising, upon a warning given, of all the able men of the country, every man to be furnished with sufficient weapons and three days victuals, and for every default to be fined a (choyce cow?)."³³
 - II. SORREN.—This is defined as a "night's meat upon any such lands as the Earl passed through with his forces and companies, and is an uncertain charge, and, therefore, could not be valued."
 - III. SORRENMORE.—A certain charge of meat, which, if the Earl would not come in person to spend it, there was a certain quantity of quirrens of butter and sroans of oatmeal paid yearly therefor, and every parcel of land was charged with its own portion, time out of mind.
- There is a note to this that a quirren of butter equals a pottle or four pounds, and a sroan equals $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallons of oaten flour, "and because that in the payment of the sorren, the quirrens and the sroans are of like number, they value quirren and sroan at vjd., though in times past a quirren was valued at fourpence, and a sroan at a white groat."
- IV. CUDDY is a meal's meat or refection certainly known, and is to be paid at the freeholder's house, if the Earl liked, or else to be sent to the Earl's house in certain proportions of flesh, *aqua vite*, ale, honey, flour, or else, in lieu thereof at the freeholder's choice, *iiijl. viijs. viijd.* (£4 8s. 8d.)
 - V. DOWGOLLO, a rent for dog's meat and huntsmen among the mountains, and for horse-meat and dog's meat in the lowlands. It means black-rent, and all freeholders cry out against it as imposed by extortion and strong hand.
 - VI. GALLOGOLOH.—This was a certain company of foot charged on his country when the Earl would make war.
 - VII. KEARNTY.—This was a company of light footmen charged as No. VI.
 - VIII. ROUT was a cess for horse-meat for the Earl's horses, or those of his wife, charged on the barony of Magunihy.
 - IX. MUSTERON.—A charge of workmen put in upon the Earl's own lands, both for wages and victuals for any work or building.

³³ The MS. is difficult to read here.

- X. CANEBEG.—This was a small spending that his wife had on certain quarters; and it was known certainly what each quarter was charged with.

We are at once struck with the similarity between these rights of the chief and those of the Welsh princes given by Mr. Seebohm in his "*Tribal System in Wales*." There we find that the free tribesmen should follow the prince to war, and were liable to a fine if they did not do so; that they should support him³⁴ and his household with hounds, falcons, and their attendants four times a year; maintain his horses and their attendants for a fixed period during the year: supply oats for his war-horse; support his law officers and their horses for a fixed period. And a certain definite portion of land was assessed with a certain amount of these charges. And, besides, the tribesmen were bound to pay once a year under the name of *Gwestva*, a food-rent, originally consisting of certain definite amounts of mead (or ale or beer if there was no honey for the mead), flour, oats, and flesh. This *Gwestva* had, by the early fourteenth century, been commuted to a money-tax. The *Gwestva* had been so calculated that each taxable unit of land should supply food and drink for so many nights' "entertainment." Mr. Seebohm suggests three. This corresponds very closely to the Irish *Cuddy*. The money payments had been so arranged that, in the fourteenth century, a definite area of land was liable for one pound of silver, called the *tunc* pound, as well as twenty four pence of "supper silver" for the prince's attendants.

Besides this, the Welsh prince had a similar food-rent twice a year from the non-tribesmen; and these had to construct the prince's buildings, furnish pack-horses for his hostings, give his wife meat and drink, and support his hounds, falcons, and horses, with their attendants, "all of them once every year."

Finally, there is the detailed return, which is probably the most important part of the whole Survey. The facts in it were probably obtained by the Commissioners in the way usual in Elizabethan times, namely, by the sworn informations of juries of the principal persons of the district which formed the subject of inquiry.³⁵ In this we find

³⁴ *The Tribal System in Wales*, pp. 154-171, and Appendix, pp. 120-122. In North Wales the free tribesmen "were free from having horses or dogs quartered on them except during the great progress of the household in winter." (Seebohm, p. 157.)

³⁵ The Survey is said to be taken on the report of the "sergeantes and officers of the said countrye,"

what each clan had to pay to the overlord, and particulars as to how the amount was apportioned on the lands in possession of the clan. For it is to be noted that while the amounts due from each clan are put under a special heading, as if there were some collective responsibility on the clan for the total amount, yet there was a minute system of apportionment of this total on the lands of each clan; some lands being exempt from all charges, the remainder being liable, some to one charge, some to another, in varying degrees. Possibly even there were lands liable to every one of the charges under the ten separate headings given above.

In every case the tax, as we may call it, was laid on the land, not on the individual occupier.³⁶ The latter might be shifted about, or have larger or smaller areas of land allotted to him by the operation of gavel-kind; population might increase or decrease, land might pass from one clan to another; but the amount due by any particular townland never varied. Since this was the case, it was necessary for the purposes of the Survey to mention all the sub-divisions of the clan-lands from which payment was due; and, as the names of these sub-divisions are grouped under the head of the clan in possession, it is easy to fix the localities occupied by each clan, even without the aid of the maps. But the maps often contain names not given in the return; for, as I have said, there were certain lands free of all dues, and so not recorded in the Survey. The maps thus form a valuable supplement to the written portion of the return. From the Survey, supplemented from other sources we can get an accurate idea of the geographical distribution of the various clans which occupied Desmond, of the extent of territory held by each, and of the dues payable by them to Mac Carthy Mór.

2.—THE SUBJECT CLANS.

THREE great clans, Mac Carthys, O'Sullivan's and O'Donoghues, all of the race of the Eoghanachts, the descendants

³⁶ Mr. Seebohm says of Wales:—"In the meantime the cases of Prees and Tebrith are sufficient to show that the unit of food-rent commuted into the *tunc* pound was payable from a geographical area or district, and not charged upon particular *weles*, or even groups of *weles*. In a word, the tribute of the chieftain was thus territorial, and not personal. The *weles* of free tribesmen could be shifted about from one villata to another; and the number of *weles* could increase or diminish without altering the payments of a particular area, or the total of the chieftain's food-rents" (p. 168).

real or supposed of Eoghan Mór, son of Oilioll Olum, King of Munster in the third century, held the greater part of the territory known as Desmond, in the sixteenth century.

All three were intruders in Kerry. The original home of the O'Sullivans was in Tipperary, round the great mound which overlooks the Suir at Knockgraffon. As I have said, tradition declared that they were the senior line of all the Gaelic race. It is not clear whether they were directly under the High King of Munster, or whether they formed part of the sub-kingdom of Eoghanacht Cashel, the territory ruled in the eleventh century by two houses, succeeding, as was commonly the case in Ireland, by alternate succession, whom we may distinguish by the names Mac Carthy and O'Donoghue, assumed by them towards the end of that century.

The Mac Carthys had, as we have seen, attained to the dignity of Kings of South Munster about half a century before the landing of the Norman invader. As Kings they may have possessed royal demesnes scattered over their kingdom. Except for this they had no special connection with Kerry or Cork.

The third clan, the O'Donoghues, were also strangers to Kerry. For long there has been confusion as to their origin, owing to the fact that there were O'Donoghues in Eoghanacht Cashel. But Canon O'Mahony in his *History of the O'Mahonys*¹ has cleared up all obscurities, and set out the relations with one another of the various families sprung from Eoghan Mór. He shows that the O'Donoghues of Lough Lein were a branch of the Ui Eachach, one of the most important of the Eoghanacht tribes. These Ui Eachach had two main sub-divisions, the Cinel Aedha, of whom the ruling family took, after the introduction of surnames, the name of O'Mahony, and the Cinel Laeghere, of whom the O'Donoghues were chiefs.

Up to the time of the battle of Clontarf, these two branches lived in harmony, holding between them a great tract of what is now County Cork. They quarrelled not long after that fight, and fought a pitched battle at Maglin, near Ballincollig. The Cinel Laeghere then migrated into Kerry, where, in 1049, we find the O'Donoghues engaged in war with the people of Corcaiguiney. We may infer, then, that they had already won part of Magunihy from its former possessors.

These were also a branch of the Eoghanacht, known as Eoghanacht Loch Lein. The chiefs of this district were

¹ First published in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*.

the O'Carrolls and the O'Moriartys. The former disappear in 1108, and the O'Donoghues appear in their stead as Kings of Loch Lein. The O'Moriartys lasted longer. An entry in the *Annals of Innisfallen* states that in 1195, Mahon grandson of Moriarty was slain by O'Donoghue, who then wrested the country from the Moriartys. It is possibly an echo from this contest that we have a grant from King John to Meiler Fitz Henry of Eoghanacht Loch Lein, "as fully as Humuirardae held it." I shall return to the O'Moriartys later on.

The fact that we find them in the sixteenth century settled as landowners in the barony of Trughanaemy under the Geraldines, might possibly imply that they had allied themselves with Fitz Henry to obtain vengeance on the O'Donoghues, making over to him their rights, by then only shadowy, to Eoghanacht Loch Lein.

As I have said, we know little or nothing of the migration of the Mac Carthys and the O'Sullivans with their followers from Tipperary into the lands where we find them in the sixteenth century.

In Tipperary, the townland of Rath Mac Carthy may still preserve a trace of the Mac Carthy connection with that county. And in the fourteenth century the poet Gofraidh Fionn O'Dalaigh, exhorted his patron, Donnell Oge Mac Carthy, to lead the Eoghanacht of Caiseal back to their old homes "on the place of Pádraig's tent," turning his back on Dairbhre's shore, the bay of rough peaked Beirre, Corca Duibhne, and the ports of Uidhne, and the fair shored lake² where he was born and reared.

Let him lead his chiefs and their departing folk into that fair fertile plain, yew-clad, swan-haunted, lovely, and there let him set each chief in his own land of the tuaths of the smooth built Caiseal.

It is possible that the O'Donoghues helped the Mac Carthys and O'Sullivans against the clans of non-Eoghanacht race who held the south-west coastline of Munster. At any rate, in the sixteenth century the O'Donoghues held a fairly extensive territory which, in the corrupt form, "Onaght," given to it in English documents, preserved the old name "Eoghanacht." Furthermore, one branch of the O'Donoghues held an exceptionally favoured position, being free from nearly all the usual impositions payable to Mac Carthy Mór.

Before the attacks of the Anglo-Normans and the incoming Gaels from Tipperary, the former inhabitants of the district between Bantry and Dingle Bays, had to yield. The

² Lough Currane,

process of conquest may have been a long one; and we have practically no record of its phases. Curious details as to the ultimate division between the Mac Carthys and the O'Sullivans of the lands thus seized, are given by the anonymous author of a "History of Kerry," published in the *Journal of the Cork Archaeological Society* for 1898 and 1899.³

The families who held South West Kerry in the twelfth century, the O'Sheas, O'Falvys and O'Connells, clans said by the traditional genealogists to be sprung from Conaire Mór, were utterly crushed.⁴ They are not once mentioned in the sixteenth century Survey. Yet, such is the persistency of the Gaelic race that to name these clans who disappear from history for four hundred years, is to mention some of the best known names in modern Kerry. The chief of all, the O'Sheas, were indeed to all appearance, utterly broken. They did not own a single acre in Kerry when the list of landowners was drawn up by the Cromwellian Government in or about 1653. Yet the name is still flourishing in the barony of Iveragh, and tradition links it with the castle of Ballycarbery, and the strand of Rossbeigh.

Of the others the O'Falvys, though broken as a clan, still appear in the seventeenth century as landowners round Cahirciveen, and in the wild district beyond Ballinskelligs. One branch retained position and property down to our own day, and is now represented by the Morrogh Bernards of Faha.

The O'Connells appear in the lists of Cromwellian forfeitures as proprietors of a large part of Iveragh; and of their position at present it is hardly necessary to speak.⁵

The Survey deals, then, mainly, with the O'Donoghues, the O'Sullivans, and the Mac Carthys.

The first of these was divided into two branches:

³ The author of this "*Anonymous History*," as we may call it for convenience' sake, appears to have been a lay brother of the Franciscan community of Muckross, who wrote shortly after 1750.

⁴ For the distribution of these clans prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion see *Topographical Poems*, published, with notes, for the Irish Archaeological Society in 1862. The Kerry and Cork portion, by O'Huidhrin, is in many cases very obscure. O'Falvy held the Dingle peninsula. This was seized by the Anglo-Normans, and some of the O'Falvys appear to have migrated to Iveragh. O'Connell had the western part of Magunihy. O'Shea had Iveragh, and apparently Dunkerron also.

⁵ The O'Connells became hereditary warders of the Castle of Ballycarbery under Mac Carthy Mór. Their original territory would seem to have been between the Laune and Maine. Some accounts say it was in Co. Limerick, but this seems due to confusion between them and the clans whose tribal name was Uí Conaill Gabhra.

O'Donoghue Mór, lords of Lough Lein, whose name tradition associates with so many points around the lakes, and O'Donoghue of the Glens. The chieftain of the former resided at Ross Castle; and his lands comprised the greater part of the parish of Killarney, with a large portion of Aghadoe. The shore of the lower lake from the mouth of the Flesk to a point beyond Lakeview was his; so were the mountains on the opposite side, the greater part of the slopes of Mangerton, and the valleys round the upper lake.

O'Donoghue Mór was one of the few chiefs of native Irish origin who sided with the last Earl of Desmond in his rebellion. He perished during the course of the war; and the lands of his clan were confiscated. They were given to Sir Valentine Browne, one of the undertakers, so called because they "undertook" to plant English settlers instead of the natives on the forfeited lands. But Mac Carthy Mór, who, as I have said, had sided with the English against his hereditary foes, the Desmonds, laid claim to the lands of the O'Donoghues on the ground that they were only his tenants at will, and that he was the real owner of the fee-simple of the lands. This claim was, from the Irish point of view, manifestly false; but the Earl produced a sufficient number of witnesses who swore that it was true; and as Mac Carthy's services had been great, the Crown allowed his claim, and ordered Browne to give up the lands. Though the Earl was a sound politician; he was but a poor man of business; and for the sum of £121 13s. 3d. he mortgaged to Sir Valentine the territory of Onaght (*i.e.* Eoghanacht O'Donoghue), late the lands of O'Donoghue Mór, Browne to hold the lands and receive all the profits from them until the sum lent should be repaid. The history of the disputes which followed between the descendants of Sir Valentine and the Earl's son-in-law, Florence, and his son Donnell, is related at great length and in a very confused manner in the *Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Mór*. The author of this work does not in his five hundred pages get to the end of the dispute, which lasted for nearly sixty years; but we know that, in spite of more than one decision given against the Brownes, and more than one Royal order to them to accept the repayment of the loan, and restore the lands to the Mac Carthys, the Brownes kept possession, and have held these lands to the present day.

According to the Survey, O'Donoghue Mór's lands contained eleven and a half quarters, making forty-five ploughlands. They paid yearly a cuddy, valued at £4 8s. 8d.,

and two "white groats,"⁶ Dowgollo valued at £13 10s., forty sheaves of oats per ploughland out of forty-five ploughlands, valued at £4 10s. yearly, and £2 a year in money; in all, £24 8s. 8d., and two "white groats." From this and similar entries, we learn that twenty sheaves of oats were valued at one shilling. It is to be noted that neither the money payment nor the sheaves of oats are mentioned under any of the ten headings of rents and duties with which the Survey opens.

The second branch, O'Donoghue of the Glens, held the wild glen of the Clydagh, behind Headfort Station, and the whole parish of Killaha. We learn from a report on Mac Carthy Mór sent in by Sir W. Herbert in 1588, that O'Donoghue of the Glens paid his overlord £2 6s. 4d., and that Mac Carthy Mór had no other right or duty in his country. The lords of the Glens have preserved their lands to our own day, although the books of Survey and Distribution show that they were confiscated by Cromwell, and give a list of Englishmen to whom they were set out by the Act of Settlement. But the new grantees had evidently no wish to try conclusions among the wilds of Glen Flesk with the rightful proprietors. The Survey estimates this territory at five quarters, each of four ploughlands. It paid yearly 26s. 8d. sterling, and four barrels of beer or ale valued at 13s. 4d.; forty shillings in all. The Survey here, as in other places, differs slightly from Sir W. Herbert's account of Mac Carthy Mór's revenues. No explanation is given as to why this clan was so slightly assessed.

Much more extensive were the possessions of the O'Sullivans. The greater part of Bere and Bantry, one half of Glanerought, all the old Dunkerron, besides a considerable tract of Iveragh, fell to their share in the division of the conquests which they had made in conjunction with the Mac Carthys.

Almost from its first coming into Kerry, the clan divided into two great branches—O'Sullivan Mór and O'Sullivan Bere. The latter took the lands south of the Kenmare River, in Bere, Bantry, and Glanerought. We do not know whether this junior branch of the clan was in any sort of dependence on the senior branch, O'Sullivan Mór.⁷

⁶ From the figures given in the survey we learn that nine white groats made a shilling: *i.e.*, the groat = $1\frac{1}{3}$ of a penny.

⁷ The *Down Survey* assigns the island of Whiddy, near Bantry, to Owen O'Sullivan Mór. Yet the grant to Owen O'Sullivan Bere (*Calendar Patent Rolls*, IX, James I) grants him "Whydy" nine ploughlands; and the award, of which I shall speak presently, gives Ffwydye as belonging to the O'Sullivans of Bere and Bantry.

The O'Sullivans of Bere and Bantry played a leading part in the troubles of Elizabeth's reign. Donnell O'Sullivan of Bere, towards the end of the sixteenth century, was the most formidable opponent of the English amongst the Gaelic chiefs of Munster; indeed, he was almost the only important "mere Irishman" who, in Elizabeth's time, resisted the Crown in that province. His chief stronghold, Dunboy, was, as is well known, taken and destroyed after a stubborn defence. He made a memorable retreat from Kerry to Leitrim, and ultimately ended his days in a chance brawl in Spain.

When Donnell Mac Carthy Mór made his submission to the Crown, and was created an Earl in 1565 or 1566, the then lord of Bere and Bantry, Owen, submitted also, and was made a Knight. His lands, too, were confirmed to him, reserving to Mac Carthy Mór the rights and duties payable to him. In order to set these beyond dispute a statement was drawn up, at the instance of Mac Carthy Mór, which is of the highest importance as showing what were the obligations of a subordinate chief towards his overlord. This document is much more minute than the later Survey, probably because at the date of the latter many of the rights of the overlord were looked on as illegal, and so left unnoticed by the Government surveyors.

This agreement is given in the *Calendar of the Carew MSS.* for 1565, p. 366.

The Lambeth copy is copied from a document in Vol. 611 of the *State Papers, Ireland*, in the Record Office, London, which I have consulted. I give the substance.

"Hereafter ensueth such services, duties, and demands as Sir Owen O'Swlyvan, Knight, and his heirs, ought to pay and do unto the Earl of Clankarre and [his] heirs," which services and demands Sir Owen and his ancestors have paid and done to the Earl and his ancestors.

1. Sir Owen holds of him "by the service to be one of the marshals of his company in the field, and there to serve him in proper person with his whole power."

2. Sir Owen ought to find continually five galloglasses or five kerne out of every quarter of land arable inhabited and manured in his country, "to be afore the guard of the said Earl's person"; and in the default of every such galloglass or kerne to pay 6s. 8d. sterling or one beef at the Earl's choice.

3. The said Earl ought to have 2s. 6d. sterling out of every ship that comes a fishing or with merchandise to any port, creek, or haven in Sir Owen's country, at the hands of such as bring the said ships.

4. To have all kind of wares and merchandises brought there by any ships at the same prices as Sir Owen.

5. Sir Owen ought to find yearly at one time by the space of two days and two nights convenient and sufficient meat and drink to the said Earl and his train at his house called Dunboye, alias Bearehaven, and over and besides, if it should fortune the said Earl at any other time to come into the country of the said Sir Owen, the said Earl to have convenient meat and drink with the said Sir Owen at his house Dunboy, aforesaid, with a competent number there to attend upon his person; and the residue of his train during his abode there, to be found and placed upon the Lordship of Bantry.

Also, the said Sir Owen ought to find and send to the house of the said Earl, called Palice, sufficient and convenient horsemeat for the finding of the said Earl's horses throughout the year, being for his own saddle, and to pay to the groom which keepeth the said horses two shillings and eight pence sterling by the year out of every quarter of land arable, being inhabited and manured within the said Lordship of Dunboy.

6. Finally, Sir Owen ought to find throughout the year upon the territories of Bantry and Dunboy the "hunte and huntess⁸ of the said Earl" with convenient sustenance for his greyhounds, hounds and spaniels, and for the wages of the same hunte sixteen pence yearly out of every quarter of land arable being manured within the said Lordship of Dunboy, aforesaid.

It is to be noticed that not only does this document give a far more detailed list of Mac Carthy Mór's dues from Bere and Bantry than does the Survey, but it also differs from the account given by Sir W. Herbert. According to Herbert, O'Sullivan Bere's country contained 160 ploughlands, and he had to "find" fifty galloglasses and to furnish in "spendings and refecions" to the value of £40 a year.

As we shall see, there were at least thirty-nine quarters under O'Sullivan Bere, and five galloglasses or kern out of each would total 195. But we must suppose that only a certain proportion would be "inhabited and manured," and fifty gallowglasses may have been agreed on as the proper average quota.

The Survey, on the other hand, gives a very low assessment on Bere and Bantry. According to it "The Castle of Berehaven did pay a cuddy to the Earl and all his

⁸ I take these words to mean huntsman and hounds.

company for two days and two nights once in seven years. Ten quarters in Bere paid for Dowgollo 4s. a quarter and an uncertain sorren." Clan Lawras paid 20s., Mac Fineen Duff 16s., O'Donagan and O'Linchigh 40s. each, besides an uncertain sorren from Clan Lawras, and part of one from Mac Fineen Duff. So the Survey assesses the fixed revenue from these lands at only £7 16s. 0d. It says nothing, too, of any revenue to Mac Carthy Mór from ships. This must have been considerable, if we can believe the statement in *Pacata Hibernia*, that O'Sullivan Bere drew a revenue of £500 a year from the ships which frequented his coasts, although the duty from each ship was small.⁹

O'Sullivan's agreement mentions no certain value of the "convenient meat and drink," nor even any fixed time during which Mac Carthy and his train were to be supported on their chance visits; and it gives the two days' and nights' entertainment at Dunboy as due yearly, instead of only once in seven years as given in the Survey.

A document¹⁰ from the hand of Mac Carthy Mór himself throws further light on the dues payable by O'Sullivan and other chieftains.

Mac Carthy is appointing a certain Manus Oge O'Rourke to be weir-man of the weir on the river Laune, and marshal of all his houses, and recites the emoluments of the office. These chiefly consisted in the hides of all the beeves, and the fells of all the sheep killed for the Cuddies due from O'Sullivan Mór, O'Donoghue Mór, and Mac Gillycuddy, together with the chines of the said beeves, and of hogs. And from others who owed Cuddies, O'Rourke was to get the hides of the beeves, with the chines of the beeves and hogs killed for the same; and it is distinctly stated that, whenever the Earl did not go and "spend" the said Cuddies at the houses of the said gentlemen, Manus was to take up and collect same for the Earl's use. Hence it is evident that the value of a Cuddy must have been fixed, though it may have differed in different districts.¹¹

The rights of the princes in South Wales, as given in the appendix to Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, are worth comparing with those of Mac Carthy Mór in Bere.

⁹ An Inquisition, 16th of James I, gives in detail these dues on ships. Unfortunately it is much defaced. Spanish ships had to pay a certain amount of wine and salt.

¹⁰ Printed in *Trans. R. Irish Acad.*, Vol. XV. The date is 1584.

¹¹ A Cuddy is described as a night's supper in this document. The Survey values the Cuddies from the Church lands of Aghadoe, Inisfallen and Killaha at five marks, "half-face money," or £4 8s. 8d. each.

To take one instance.¹² In the Commote of Mefyneth were eight "Westuas," each of five "Randirs," and each Randir paid 10s. 8d. a year of "rent of assise," making four marks or £2 13s. 4d. per Westua. Each Westua was wont to feed the Lord and his train four times a year, and to support his huntsmen, with their dogs, and his falconers with their birds, which service was called "West," and was valued at four marks per Westua.¹³ Then eight "servientes de keys" were to be fed by the Commote throughout the year, costing a penny a day. Also, the Commote kept two horseboys and two horses for the Lord from All Saints to the feast of SS. Philip and James, and this was valued at two pence a day; and it maintained one horseboy and horse for the Raglou or bailiff for the same period, at the same cost.

The free Welshmen of the Commote paid each one "cribra" of oats to feed the Lord's war horses. They were bound to follow the Lord to war when summoned, and if anyone remained at home, without leave of the Lord, he was fined. And, if the Lord made any expedition outside the County of Cardigan, each Westua paid him 3s. 4d.

The state of things thus described refers to the year 1280, though the document describing it dates from 1306, when the native Princes of Wales had passed away. It is remarkable to find the same system in vigour three hundred years later in Munster.

In the later years of Elizabeth's reign a family dispute arose as to the Lordship of Bere and Bantry. Sir Owen, whom we have mentioned as Lord in 1565, had succeeded his elder brother Donnell; and his tanist was his younger brother, Philip. But Donnell's son, also called Donnell, had grown up, and now put in a claim to the lordship. To this dispute we owe some documents of capital importance as to the internal organisation of a Gaelic lordship.

Donnell O'Sullivan Bere stands in our popular histories as the typical figure of the romantic patriot. The stubborn defence of Dunboy, and the slaughter of all its defenders, the wonderful march of Donnell and his surviving followers from Glengariffe to Leitrim in the face of overwhelming odds, across a hostile country, his death in Spain from a stab inflicted in a casual brawl by one of his own countrymen, are among the best known incidents of our history.

¹² *Tribal System in Wales*. Appendix F, p. 116.

¹³ Apparently the huntsmen and falconers were to be maintained only during the stay of the Prince in the Commote. At least that is what I take "per suos aduentus" to mean.

But at this period of his career, about the year 1587, Donnell comes out as an ardent loyalist, an upholder of English "civility," and brings his claims to the rule over Bere and Bantry before the English Government, and not before Mac Carthy Mór.

Sir Owen at this period was not *persona grata* with the Government, as his conduct during the Desmond rebellion had laid him open to suspicion.

Such were the curious changes of Elizabethan politics that, when some years later the Spaniards landed at Kinsale, it was Donnell, the favoured by the Crown, who joined them, the sons of the injured Sir Owen, who remained loyal.

Owen, eldest son to Sir Owen, received back the Lordship of the whole country of Bere and Bantry after Donnell's flight to Spain. He got from James I a grant, printed in *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 9th of James I.¹⁴ This and an Inquisition taken after the death of Owen are among the most instructive documents which we have as to the rights of a Gaelic chief. Sir Owen's descendants lost everything in the great convulsion of 1641.

But this is to anticipate. The Calendar of State Papers, 1586-88, contains, beginning at page 340, a series of documents sent in in support of their claims by the rival competitors. They contain the most extraordinarily discrepant statements; and incidentally teach us not to put too much faith in statements in the State Papers unless supported by further evidence.¹⁵ Sir Owen asserts, and sends in his proofs, with a pedigree, that the Lordship had always gone by Irish custom, i.e., a brother succeeding in preference to the young son of the previous Lord; and says that the other Irish countries adjoining did always follow the same custom, and "suggestions that it were not likely that one particular Irish country should differ from all the rest."

Donnell also sends in a pedigree, showing that the Lordship always descended lineally from the father to the son, except when it had been seized after the death of a chief by a brother, helped by Mac Carthy Mór, or by the Earl of Desmond, or by Mac Carthy of Carbery.

Sir Owen declares that Donnell's witnesses are murderers, thieves, drunkards, beggars.

¹⁴ The Inquisition, 16th of James I, takes up 17 pages of Vol. II of the Royal Irish Academy copy of *Inquisitions, Co. Cork*, Vol. II. It begins at p. 8.

¹⁵ The Editors of the *Calendar* mix up in the index Sir Owen O'Sullivan Bere, of Bantry, and Sir Owen O'Sullivan Mór, of Dunkerron, in the most glorious confusion.

Donnell retorts that two of them are Lords of great countries, one an Alderman of Cork, four freeholders and gentlemen, and two others well seen in the antiquities of Ireland; and that his witnesses are more honest, of greater calling, and less corrupt than any the said Sir Owen produced.

Sir Owen describes the lands in dispute as barbarous and uncivil, and the people unacquainted with civil government till his time.

Donnell answers that "the said country was not so barbarous, but that the heirs thereof were always brought up in learning and civility, and could speak English, and the Latin tongue"—incidentally we learn that, at the age of twelve, Donnell's father was a schoolboy in Waterford—"but, to excuse his own ignorance and want of bringing up, he (Sir Owen) being not able to speak the English language, he would gladly discredit the country and all his ancestors."

Sir Owen had the advantage of being in possession; but Donnell certainly seems to have had a greater flow of language, and greater audacity. He actually asserted that not only had Bere and Bantry always passed by descent from father to son, but that the lands of Mac Carthy Mór, O'Sullivan Mór, and Muskerry had always gone in the same way. We know that this is quite untrue as regards Muskerry. As regards the family of Mac Carthy Mór, it is true that in this case father had succeeded son in unbroken succession for two hundred years. But the explanation seems to be that the Mac Carthys were an exceptionally long lived race, and each, at his death, had full grown sons capable of succeeding. Furthermore, to secure the succession, the younger sons of the reigning Mac Carthy Mór received extensive lordships, probably on condition of abandoning the claim to succeed their elder brother.

We are told that in the case of the Maguires of Fermanagh, son succeeded father, without a break, for seven generations.¹⁶ But this is expressly noted as unusual in Ireland.

One document sent in is of special interest as containing a statement of the organisation of a Gaelic lordship drawn up under the supervision of a member of the ruling house.¹⁷

¹⁶ See Fr. Dineen's *The Maguires of Fermanagh*, an edition, with translation and notes, of an Irish tract of the early 17th century.

¹⁷ This document seems to represent Sir Owen's side of the case. Bonn prints it in full. App. I to Vol. I. I have consulted the original.

It states that fifteen quarters, each quarter containing three ploughlands, were set apart for the ruling sept of O'Sullivan Bere. Half of these, *i.e.*, seven and a half quarters, formed the demesne of the Lord, and were always held by the actual reigning chief, along with the castles of Dunboy, Bantry, and Carriganass. Later on, it is said that there were four quarters round Foyd or Bantry, which are the Lord's also.¹⁸ As this seems to exclude them from the lands of the sept of O'Sullivan Bere, Dr. Bonn thinks that these were the private inheritance of Sir Owen. But from the Report of the Commission, of which I shall speak presently, this does not seem to have been the case.

Of the remaining seven and a half quarters, the tanist had six ploughlands and the castle of Ardea. The next in importance of the family to him—in this case it was Donnell himself, son of Sir Owen's elder brother and predecessor—had six ploughlands. The remaining ten and a half ploughlands were divided up among the other near relatives of the chief; and as the numbers of these increased or diminished, so the amount of land allotted to each varied, but the chief's proportion never did. Here we see gavelkind working within the limits of the sept.

Besides these fifteen quarters, there were twenty more—sixty ploughlands in all—held by other septs of O'Sullivans, *i.e.*, junior branches of the parent house. Each sept had a definite area of land, which was, no doubt, divided among the members of the sept, just like the forty-five ploughlands held by the chief and his near kinsmen. Six such septs are named, *viz.*, the issue of Fineen Duff, of Lawrence, of Dwling (*sic*), of the son of Mac Bwogy, of the son of Donnell, of the son of Teig. All these were to pay O'Sullivan Bere duties.¹⁹

His fixed rent from the country was forty pounds a year, which sum was thus small on account of the poverty of the land. The whole wealth of the country came from the sea; "and therefore the O'Sullivan for the time being liveth only by the sea and the commodity thereof," and as the profits from this varied, the lord agreed with the owners of ships and boats "according as the fishing do continue all the season of the year, or fail, as sometimes it doth fail within one month."

¹⁸ Foyd seems to be Ffwydye, *i.e.*, Whiddy Island.

¹⁹ The text runs:—"Paying his rents to the lord, which is but little worth nowadays"; . . . "And everyone of them hath his share thereof, paying his rent to the lord for the time being . . . which, in old times, was the cessing of his men of war—as galloglasses, kerns, horsemen, and such like—besides to pay all his charges whensoever he would come out of his country to any town or city, to sessions, term, service of the prince, and such like," &c.

All of this forty pounds went to the wife of the chief "towards her idle expenses."

O'Sullivan himself had little need of money; for the septs of O'Sullivans were to keep his galloglasses and kern, and pay all his expenses if he travelled to Cork, or to sessions, or to war. They were also to pay his debts—this may explain the tendency to get into debt characteristic of the later Irish landlord—build his houses, feed him, and help him to marry his daughter.

When we consider that, over and above all this, the clansmen of these septs had to maintain their own immediate sub-chief (MacFineen Duff, for example), and pay Mac Carthy Mór's dues on the country, as well as their share of the tribute levied by the Earls of Desmond, we cannot but wonder how they had anything at all left for themselves.²⁰

It is doubtful whether this is a strictly accurate account. Nothing is said of the actual amount of the revenue from ships, which is estimated at £500 a year in *Pacata Hibernia*. And besides the "septs of the O'Sullivans" there were other clans subject to the Lord of Bere, such as the O'Linchighs and the O'Donegans, each of which paid him yearly £4 13s. 4d., as appears from King James' grant to the son of Sir Owen.

Donnell's claim fell in with the wishes of the Government, which desired to bring in succession from father to son, and also to break up the great Irish lordships.²¹

But the conflict of evidence was so great that a Commission was appointed to go into the whole question. The Report of this Commission, and the decision based on it are printed in Morrin, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Elizabeth, 1594, Vol. II, pp. 295 and following. The Commissioners personally visited the country of Bere and Bantry, examined witnesses there, and made a rough "plot" or map of the lands in dispute, which is still preserved in the London Record Office, where I have seen it.

They reported that "the proofs are so doubtful as we cannot discern which of the two hath better right to the lands in controversy." But they discovered, one would like to know by what process, "yet hath her Highness best right to all the territories of Bere and Bantry by an

²⁰ Thus the septs of O'Donegan and O'Linchigh, after providing for their own chiefs, had each to pay £4 13s. 4d. yearly to O'Sullivan Bere, forty shillings to Mac Carthy Mór, and, no doubt, something to the Earl of Desmond.

²¹ The controversy can be followed in the *Cal. St. Papers* up to 1594, and even at a later date. At first Sir Owen's cause found favour, but Donnell's pertinacity carried the day.

ancient title of record, before any of the O'Sullivans were interested in the same."²²

It was, however, not considered advisable to press the Queen's title, but advantage was taken of it to induce the rival claimants to consent to a partition of the lordship. The Council in London gave general instructions as to this, laying down that Dunboy should fall to Donnell because it was found that he was "lyneally descended in five descents from Dermot Ballogh O'Swillyvan Bere, who was quietly possessed of the castle of Bere, the haven and a portion of the country round about before any of the collateral line usurped upon their nephews in the lyneal line, and the more part of the children of the lyneal line from Dermot was, for the more part, in quiet possession of the castle and countrie adjoining."

Thus they seem to bear out Donnell's contention that when the nephews of the lineal line were within age there had been only three occasions when their uncles had obtained possession, and that this was done by the "supportation" of the Earl of Desmond, or of the Mac Carthys of Carbery.

The final award, as given in Morrin, is of importance as showing how careful one must be in accepting as true any statement as to the affairs of an Irish clan when unsupported by other evidence.

The Commissioners recite in their award that the area of Bere and Bantry was sixty quarters, each of three ploughlands; and that of these, eight belonged to the Bishop of Cork, thirty-three to certain freeholders, and nineteen "in demesne" to O'Sullivan and all his sept, whereof O'Sullivan had in continual and settled estate but five quarters.

To reconcile these figures with the statement quoted above, we must suppose that this omitted the lands of the Bishop of Cork, and also the lands of two septs of the Mac Carthys, namely four quarters in Bere held by Clan Dermot, and eight and a half in Bantry held by Clan Donnell Roe, septs of which I shall speak later on.²³ With this deduction there is substantial agreement between the two statements. Then the Commissioners found that the demesne lands came to nineteen quarters, making no distinction between the four round Foyd and the fifteen

²² *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1592-96, p. 89.

²³ From the award it would appear that these Mac Carthy septs paid chief rents to O'Sullivan Bere. But the Inquisition, 16th of James I, seems to imply that the chief rents payable to him from the lands of these septs were those, formerly payable to the Earl of Desmond, granted 9th of James I to Owen O'Sullivan.

others as the other document seems to do. And whereas that had said that seven and a half quarters were always held by the Lord, the Commissioners say that O'Sullivan had in continual and settled estate but five quarters, and that the remainder of the nineteen were wont to be divided between him and his sept "whereof sometimes his part was less and sometimes more, as his sept increased or decreased."

The whole of these nineteen quarters were divided between Donnell and his uncles, Sir Owen and Philip the Tanist. The latter got the castle of Ardea, and one and a quarter quarters, though, according to Sir Owen, his portion as tanist had been two quarters. But the lands now assigned to Philip were to go to his heirs, and were freed from all rents, dues and services to the other two.

The rest of the demesne lands were then divided so as to give all those in Bere—eight quarters and two ploughlands—to Dornell, and those in Bantry seven quarters, two ploughlands and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a ploughland to Sir Owen.²⁴ The balance, a quarter and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a ploughland, made up of scattered fragments, was divided between the two, according as the fragments lay in Bere or in Bantry.

Furthermore, to Donnell were given all rents, services, lawful duties, and casualties out of the freehold of the freeholders in Bere, namely, Sliocht Fineen Duff, O'Linchigan, O'Holighan, O'Donegan, Sliocht Dowlinge, Sliocht Swleagwill, Dermot O'Sullivan of Ballaghbuy, and as much of Clan Lawras as is west of Adrigool, and "of the brook that runs by Kilcaskan into the river of Berhaven on the south, and on the west of the brook, called Clashdromard, that runs under the castle of Ardea into the river Kenmarye on the north, and soe directly from the head of both brooks." Excepted were "the four quarters of land belonging to Clandermodie whereunto her Majestie maketh title."

To Sir Owen were given the rent and service, lawful duties and customs due to O'Sullivan within the island of Ffwydye, and within Bantry upon the freehold of the freeholders following, viz., Sliocht M'Quick, Sliocht Owen pygh, the Swylavans of Bouska, O'Swylyvan moels, except Donell O'Swylyvan, and of all the freeholders within the island of Ffwydye within Bantrie, except as much of Clan-

²⁴ Sir Owen got two quarters of demesne within the island of Ffwydye, and two ploughlands near Bantry. Ffwydye is the modern Whiddy, and probably the "Foyd" of the statement, sent in on Sir Owen's behalf. There were also four quarters called Seskins in Bantry, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands in Carriganaseig.

donellroe as escheated to her Majesty.²⁵ He also got the rent, etc., due from as much of Clan Lawras as lay to the east of the two brooks and limits before given.

As he got less of the demesne he is said to get somewhat the larger allowance of service; and as the haven (of Dunboy), fishing and other profits thereof had been allotted to Donnell, Sir Owen was to get every year a rent-charge of £6 13s. 4d. issuing out of the demesne lands allotted to Donnell.

This award was made at Mallow, Jan. 19th, 1593/94, by three Commissioners, Sir Thomas Norreys,²⁶ James Goold, Second Justice, and George Thornton, Provost Marshal.

The bounds between Bere and Bantry given above do not correspond to the modern boundaries. About one-third of the Barony of Glanerought, now part of Kerry, was held by O'Sullivan Bere, and divided between the two competitors. The modern Barony of Bere stretches east of the bounds set down in the award, and takes in Glengariffe.

In Weld's *Killarney* there is an account of a tour in Kerry undertaken in 1802 by a certain Mr. Beltz. He stayed at the house of Mac Fyneen Duff; and while there made enquiries as to the fate of the former owners of Ardea. He was told that they were represented by a cottager of very humble circumstances.

On being interviewed, this man produced some tattered documents, one of which proved, on investigation, to be a copy of the award of the Commissioners which in 1613 had been made out for Donnell, son and heir of Philip, under the circumstances set out in Morrin, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Elizabeth, pp. 301-2. The castle and lands had been lost at the Cromwellian confiscation; the ragged parchments survived as a testimony of the former glories of the cottager's ancestors.²⁷ Further questioning proved to the satisfaction of Mr. Beltz that the cottager could trace his

²⁵ In Morrin, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 266, 1594, there is a grant to Richard Beacon of certain lands named, the possessions of Clandonellroe, in Bantry, containing by estimation four ploughlands. This sept of the Mac Carthys had come to grief in the Desmond rebellion, as will be seen later on.

²⁶ The well-known Vice-President of Munster.

²⁷ The Cromwellian surveys give as owner of Ardea, in 1641, Col. Mac Fyneen, head of a Mac Carthy sept in Glanerought; he may have acquired it by purchase or marriage. We learn from Morrin, *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Eliz.*, p. 301, that a copy of the Deed of Partition was given in 1613 to Donell FitzPhilip O'Swylevan, who was impleaded by Owen O'Sullivan for the castle and lands of Ardea, and whose title rested upon that division.

descent step by step through six generations to Philip of Ardea.

From the award it is clear that in the opinion of the Commissioners only Sir Owen, Philip and Donnell had at the time any interest in the nineteen quarters set apart for O'Sullivan and his sept.

Yet we know of the existence of at least one other member of the ruling sept, namely, Dermod, father of Philip O'Sullivan, the historian.²⁸

Philip tells us that his father and grandfather were both named Dermod, and that this latter had been O'Sullivan Bere in 1531. From the pedigrees it seems certain that by the elder Dermod is meant the father of Donnell, whose son, Donnell, was the claimant in 1587, and of Sir Owen and Philip the Tanist. Therefore, Dermod must have been a brother of Sir Owen and Philip.²⁹ We know that he survived the horrors of the march from Bere to Leitrim, and that he ended his days in Spain; and, as he was nearly seventy years' old at the time of the seige of Dunboy, he must have been the eldest of Dermod's sons. Why, then, did he get no share of the demesne? Philip speaks of his father as having many tenants (*obaerati*) who were massacred on Dursey Island by the English at the time of the siege of Dunboy.³⁰

I am inclined to identify him with the Dermod O'Sullivan of Ballaghbuy, whose services, etc., were assigned to Donnell. It is to be noticed that this is practically the only case in which the award mentions an individual as holding land; in all other cases the land is held by the *slíocht*, or sept, or issue of a named person, or by a group named from their holding.

The explanation must be that Dermod, illegitimate son of Dermod, Lord of Bere and Bantry, had been provided for by a grant to him and his posterity of land which had in some way fallen in to the Lord, outside the nineteen

²⁸ Many writers confuse the two Philips. Philip the Tanist is distinctly stated in the Report of the Commissioners to be brother to Sir Owen. The historian was, as we shall see, almost certainly his nephew.

²⁹ Philip calls Donnell his *patrueilis*. It is quite impossible that Philip, whose father was an old man in 1602, could have been nephew of Donnell, as the *Dict. of Nat. Biography* and other works say. Donnell was a youth, Dermod a grown man, experienced in war, at the time of the Desmond rebellion. Donnell is said to have been fifty-eight at his death in 1618.

³⁰ Dursey Island seems to have been in possession of the historian's father, and Philip was born there. It paid chief rents and services to O'Sullivan Bere, valued at 4s. 5d., according to the Inquisition, 16th James I.

quarters of demesne. In return, probably, he renounced any claim to a share in these lands. We know of instances both in Carbery and Muskerry where such settlements were made, the grantee and his descendants often being excluded from the succession to the Lordship. In this way originated many septs of the Mac Carthys in these territories. A pedigree in Lambeth shows three sons offspring of Dermod and his wife Shelie, daughter of Mac Carthy Reagh, and gives another son, Dermod, marked with a wavy line, for illegitimacy, who married the daughter of Donell Mc Moyle-murry Mc Swine. This shows his identity with Dermod, father of Philip, since Philip tells us that he was the son of Dermod and Johanna Mac Swiny. I conjecture then his identity with Dermod of Ballaghbuy.

Of the branches of the O'Sullivans of Bere mentioned in the award, the sept of Mac Fineen Duff held the wild region round the harbours of Ardgroom and Killmakilloge, on the south side of the Kenmare River. Their lands lay partly in the modern County Cork, and partly in Kerry, for it is to be noted that the lands of O'Sullivan Bere included part of the Barony of Glanerought, now in Kerry, namely the parish of Tuosist.³¹

The family of Mac Fineen Duff O'Sullivan, or O'Sullivan Mael, as Keating calls them, survived until the early part of the nineteenth century.³²

The "issue of Lawrence O'Sullivan," mentioned by Donnell, are called Clan Lawras in the award, and in the Survey. Herbert names their lands as one of the fourteen countries subject to Mac Carthy Mór, and says "this countrie conteyneth thirty-two ploughlands. It is all in the Earle's hands by her Majestie's gift." From this it would appear that this sept had attained to a certain independence of O'Sullivan Bere.³³

The Survey has a curious note on this sept. It first says that five quarters of Clan Lawras pay for Dowgollo 4/0 a

³¹ A part of Kilcaskan parish is also in Glanerought. The Lambeth map shows "a sept of the O'Sullivan Beres" as holding Bunane and the neighbourhood, and another as holding "Carrowbristie," both in Glanerought.

³² One died in 1809, said to have been the last of his family by Mr. Bigger in an article on Kilmakilloge. *Jour. R. S. A.*, Vol. VIII, 5th series, p. 315.

³³ Both the pedigree in the Appendix to Keating and one at Lambeth, Vol. 635, derive Clan Lawras from Lauras, younger son of the first O'Sullivan Bere. They would then be what Skene calls "the oldest cadet" of the Clan of O'Sullivan Bere. Skene shows how this "oldest cadet" was often little inferior in power and importance to the chief of the clan. *The Highlanders of Scotland* passim.

quarter, and an uncertain sorren, and then adds: "The sept of Clan Lawras were bound to guard the Earl of Clancartie's carriages when he went in any excursion, and for that the oldest of that sept had of dewtie the best dish of meat that was sett before the Earle when he was at meat during the journey."

From the award, confirmed by the Lambeth map, it appears that the lands of Claulawras lay round Adrigole and Kileaskan in Bere, and extended apparently across the mountains towards Ardea. The parish of Kileaskan may represent their lands.

In 1641 the lands of Kileaskan, some 4,000 acres, belonged to Dermot O'Linty, *alias* O'Linty.³⁴ I have not come across this name elsewhere.

The grant, 9th of James I to Owen, son of Sir Owen, of the lands and rights divided by the award of 1594, gives details as to the rents payable by the freeholders. In some cases two sums are given as issuing from a specified denomination of land, one being said to be in lieu of certain duties of butter, etc., which were thus compounded for; the other being, no doubt, the old money rent mentioned in the account of the revenues of the Lord of Bere sent in in 1587.

The Inquisition, 16th of James I, taken after Owen's death, throws further light on the revenues of the Lords of Bere, and shows that payments of butter, oatmeal, etc., were made to them, in the same way as they were made to Mac Carthy Mór. We find lands charged with money rents, so many "stoanes"³⁵ of butter, "medders" of oatmeal, sheep, pigs, and "marriage cows," these last, cows two years of age, payable out of certain lands on the marriage of a daughter of O'Sullivan Bere. Some lands had, in addition, to help to build his castles, halls and long ships.

This Inquisition seems to show that rents in kind might continue to be levied even after a Royal grant had commuted them for a fixed sum of money.

Owen was also granted rents payable to the Earl of Desmond out of certain lands. These may have been part

³⁴ At least, so I read the name in the *Down Survey*; but O'Hart prints it O'Liney in his *List of Forfeiting Proprietors in Ireland*, compiled by Christopher Gough in 1655 or 56 (published in O'Hart's *Irish Landed Gentry, when Cromwell came to Ireland*). This list is independent of the *Down Survey* and may here be right. N. Browne gives as subjects of O'S. Bere "O'Douogan, Olinchehan, Olinegetdell, Olinche." The last of these is probably O'Linchigh, the third possibly O'Liney. There were many O'Lynes in Dunkerron.

³⁵ The Lambeth Survey has quirrrens of butter and sroans of oatmeal.

of the £214 odd which these Earls were said to get out of the lands of Mac Carthy Mór.

In a Royal letter in connection with the dispute between Sir Owen and Donnell there is a reference to an annual rent of £20 a year wrongfully extorted from Sir Owen by the traitor, the Earl of Desmond, and afterwards claimed by the Earl of Clancarr. Sir Owen is to be released from payment of this. This is probably the total of the various sums mentioned in the grant of James I. But in the State Papers, under date 1572, there is mention of the rents of O'Sullivan Bere and of Barretts, which "in a deed of gift by the Lord Mac Carthy Mór his father that now is is made to same late Earl of Desmond of good memory as parcel of the dower by him given to the said Earl with his daughter Dame Ellen Countess of Desmond." So that this may have been the true origin of this annual rent.

The evidence of the *Books of Survey and Distribution* and of the *Down Survey*, which I consulted before the destruction, in 1922, of the Record Office, brings the history of Bere and Bantry down to the middle of the seventeenth century; and shows that the land then was in the hands of the descendants of the owners in the late sixteenth century.

The Cromwellian confiscation made a clean sweep of these landowners. The records of this confiscation give us a concluding series of documents on the O'Sullivan's of Bere. Some time before June, 1663, the then representative of Sir Owen's family, Colonel Daniel (*i.e.*, Donnell) O'Sullivan Bere of Berehaven, petitioned the King to the following effect:³⁶

"At the beginning of the late troubles in Ireland, petitioner at his great expense preserved many hundred English Protestants, as annexed certificates will prove. He served the Royal cause loyally, so long as the Royal authority was maintained in Ireland. When the Royal arms had to be laid down, petitioner embodied above 4,000 acting men, and left them under good officers while he attended your Majesty in Paris. He there received orders to prosecute the war against your rebellious subjects, but before he could get back his force was scattered by the enemy. By reason of petitioner's undertaking, His Majesty's enemies 'were so incensed against your petitioner (and, as he is afraid, do still continue so) that he neither hath nor can enjoy his estate' in spite of your Majesty's letters to the Lords Justices, and their positive orders to put him in possession.

³⁶ *Cal. State Papers*, 1669-70, Addenda 1625-70, p. 456.

This was done, his land not being set out for 'debenters or adventers.' But in spite of his order and possession, Sir William Petty, Cromwell's Surveyor General there, and others deriving title from one George Walters ('who is no adventurer or soldier, but got a great part of petitioner's estate from Cromwell as a gratuity for transporting and selling your Majesty's subjects beyond seas') possessed themselves of petitioner's estate, as did others who presented paper petitions or got *custodiams* before the petitioner could be heard in his own defence. They have no equity or law behind their title, but only 'the practice of their former leader, Cromwell.' Petitioner's predecessors gained this estate by serving the Crown of England with their swords, as will appear by the annexed certificate of Lord Mountjoy (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) and Lord Carew, President of Munster in 1601. These testify to the loyalty of petitioner in the time of the Spanish invasion, the Earl of Tyrone's wars, and 'all these troubles.'

As his estate has not been set out to 'adventer nor debenter,' and as, owing to long exile, he is so poor that he cannot prosecute his claim, however just:—

He preys that your Majesty will allow a clause to be inserted in the Bill lately sent to Ireland for confirmation of marriages that he may be restored to his estate, freed from his present oppressions, and again enabled to serve the King."

Apparently this petition led to the issue in June, 1663, of a warrant to the Solicitor-General to insert a clause in the Bill lately transmitted from Ireland (in confirmation of marriages) for restoring the petitioner to all lands, houses and others whatsoever as well within cities and walled towns as without them whereof he was seized on October 22nd, 1641.

And on July 23rd of the same year leave to amend or put in new claims was given to various persons who had applied for leave to put in claims, after the prescribed day, before the Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement. The order is made in recognition of the petitioners' loyalty and sufferings for the royal cause. Amongst those named are Daniel O'Sullivan Beare of Bearehaven, Daniel O'Sullivan, his nephew and heir-apparent, and Daniel O'Sullivan of Dunkerron.

But these warrants, and the petitioner's loyalty and faithful service, were of no avail against the astute Petty. The greater part of Bere and Glanerought passed from the O'Sullivans to him, and so, through his daughter, to the Fitz Maurices, Marquesses of Lansdowne. It does not

appear that O'Sullivan Bere ever recovered an acre of his vast estates.³⁷

If we can believe the "anonymous author," the descendants of Donnell were extinct in his day, about 1750, but those of Sir Owen were represented by "the late Count of Berehaven and his brother, Colonel Owen, etc., in Spain."

As to Donnell's descendants, we know from Philip the historian that, on the same ship which bore him, then a boy of ten, to Spain, was Donnell's eldest son, sent by his father as a hostage. This son was also called Donnell.³⁸ In 1619, not many months after the death in a chance brawl of the Lord of Bere, we find Philip sending a letter *illustrissimo Domino Dermysio Osullivano Dumbcae Comiti* condoling with him on the death of his father, and describing the naval battle of the previous year, in which the historian's brother, Donnell, and his cousin Philip had perished.³⁹

It would appear, therefore, that the Dermod addressed was son of the late Lord of Bere, who had been created Count of Berehaven (or of Dunboy) by the King of Spain, greatly to the indignation of James I, and that his elder brother was by now dead.

In 1660, Peter Talbot, writing to Ormond from Madrid, says that the Earl of Berehaven was lately dead, leaving a daughter aged twelve, and one hundred thousand crowns.

This seems to be the last reference to Donnell's posterity.

O'Sullivan Bere's lands all lay south of the Kenmare river, and north and east of Bantry Bay.

Much more extensive was the lordship of O'Sullivan Mór. It extended along the shore of Kenmare Bay from Derrynane Abbey to Kenmare. The Laune from Dunloe to a point near Killorglin formed its northern frontier. It extended across the wild mountains at the head of Waterville Lake into the Inny valley, and reached Dingle Bay at Glenbeigh and the mouth of the Caragh River. The frowning coast-line from Bolus Head near the Skellig Rocks to the southern entrance to Valentia Harbour also owned the sway of O'Sullivan Mór, as did the southern shore of that harbour as far as Cahirciveen.

This great clan, from an early period, threw off two lesser offshoots. The second chief after the settlement in Kerry gave one of his sons, Giollamochuda, an extensive district,

³⁷ The Bantry lands passed to a large extent ultimately to the White family. The lands of Clan Donnell Roe remained with the Brownes, who had got them after the death of the Earl of Clan-carthy.

³⁸ He was killed, apparently, by an accidental explosion in 1610. *Cal. State Papers*, 1610, p. 399.

³⁹ This Philip may have been a son of Philip the Tanist.

estimated by the author of the *History of Kerry*, quoted above, as one-third of his territory.⁴⁰ From this Giollamochuda come the well-known family of the Mac Gillycuddy of the Reeks. According to the same author, the name Mac Gillycuddy was at first borne only by the chiefs of this clan and their immediate relatives, the lesser clansmen calling themselves O'Sullivan. But in his day, he says, they mostly called themselves Mac Gillycuddy, except those who went abroad.

He also states that the lord of the Reeks was bound to furnish O'Sullivan Mór with 700 fighting men. For his other dues and services, if any, he refers to O'Sullivan's records. The fate of these last, as related by Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell, in her work *The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade*, on the authority of Sir Ross O'Connell, of Lakeview, is worth mentioning here. Sir Ross says: "The last O'Sullivan Mór died at Tomies in 1762. He left an illegitimate son, whose grandson is a fisherman at Killarney. This grandson told me that when a boy, some thirty years ago, he went to see his grandfather lying dead at Tomies. He saw in the room of the dead man a great pile of old papers, maybe three feet high, mostly written on skins in Latin and Irish, 'and, faith, I was in dread they might fall into the hands of the Mahonys, or some other new people in the country, and they might get more of the O'Sullivan estates, so I burned them all myself.'"⁴¹

What would not an antiquary give for such documents, and in what other country outside Ireland would such an incident have been possible?

The survey gives the following details as to the payments due to Mac Carthy Mór from this clan. The castle and four ploughlands of Bodenesmeen paid yearly four beeves, valued at 13s. 4d. each. The lands of Slught Mac Rury, *alias* "Twoghelanihie, being 12½ ploughlands paid yearly for Dowgollo, eighteen quirrins of butter and eighteen sroans of oatmeal a plough, which amounted to 225 quirrins and 225 sroans, valued at £5 12s. 6d."

Also, the sheaves of oats out of a ploughland, valued at 37s. 6d. (*i.e.*, 60 sheaves per ploughland apparently).

Also for cuddy or refection eight quirrins of butter and eight sroans of oatmeal per ploughland, which

⁴⁰ According to Sir W. Herbert, Mac Gillycuddy had forty-six ploughlands. Mac Carthy Mór had there the giving of the rod, rising out, the finding of thirty galloglasses, and to the value of £20 in yearly spending. Our Survey gives £27 2s. 4d. as the total of the payments due from this clan.

⁴¹ *The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade*, Vol. I., p. 53.

amounted to 100 quirrens and 100 sroans, valued at 50s. sterling.

Also, in money eight pence and two white groats per ploughland, making 11s. and one groat, and from Coulro over and above 11s. and one groat.

Furthermore, the quarter of "Carreogerran," in Glancrought, paid yearly eighteen beeves, value £12; and the lands along the Kenmare river from Derrynane to Sneem paid Dowgollo and Canebeg, amounting to 27s. 8d. and one groat, besides an uncertain sorren. In all, then, Mac Gillycuddy paid £27 3s. 4d. yearly. We know that he also paid chief rent to the Knight of Kerry, and, very probably, to the Earl of Desmond, and to O'Sullivan Mór as well.

The lands of the Mac Gillycuddys were in three detached portions. The first ran from the Laune up to the summit of the Reeks, to which these chiefs have given their name. The Laune was its northern boundary; on the east it extended to near Dunloe, on the west to where the stream called the Cottoner's river joins the Laune, close to Killorglin. The second district, called Bordonine, lay along the Kenmare river from Sneem harbour to Caherdaniel, close to Derrynane. Inland it was bounded by the mountains which separate Dunkerron from Iveragh.

Finally, there was a small district in the parish of Kilmaire (the modern Kenmare) on both sides of the river Roughty, and on the edge of the parish of Kilgarvan. It was called Cahirogiarane, and included the modern townlands of Caher to the north, and Letter to the south of the Roughty.

The lord of the Reeks sided with the last Earl of Desmond in his rebellion, and fell in battle. The curious manner in which the chiefs of this family, in spite of repeated confiscations, have preserved portion of their lands to the present day, is told at length in Brady's volume, *The Mac Gillycuddy Papers*.

The second offshoot from the O'Sullivans took the name Mac Crohin, or Mac Crehan.⁴² They had a castle at Letter, near Cahirciveen, and their lands ran along the south shore

⁴² Both forms of the name are still found. The author of the "Anonymous History" seems to consider the Mac Crehans as a branch of the Mac Carthys, but a Patent of James I speaks of "Mac Crehan, *alias* O'Sullivan." It is quoted in *Kerry Records*, volume for 1874, p. 41. Nicholas Browne, in his treatise on Munster, puts them as the third branch of the O'Sullivans, after O'Sullivan Mór and O'Sullivan Bere. Among the chief rents payable to the Earl of Desmond in 1572 is mentioned £16 from McConnell and McKreghin by equal porcions with [each] other. *State Papers*, Vol 611.

of Valentia Harbour from Cahirciveen to Reencarragh Point. This clan also possessed a small district in Magunihy, on the north bank of the little river Gweestin. This was the only portion of O'Sullivan territory north of the Laune, and one would wish to know how they acquired it. The Mac Crehans, long sunk into obscurity in their own land, are now a great and flourishing family in Spain, where so many others of the old Kerry aristocracy sought and found a refuge in bygone days.

The greater part of the O'Sullivan territory remained directly subject to O'Sullivan Mór. The principal residence of this chief was the castle of Dunkerron near Kenmare. The castle of Dunloe was also his, and it guarded almost the only pass which gave access from North Kerry to his country.

Another branch of the O'Sullivan clan resided at the castle of Cappanacushy. They were often called Mac Crah, as being descendants of a chief called Mac Crah. They were, it appears, the senior branch of the O'Sullivan race, but had been deprived of the chieftainship through the workings of the law of Tanistry. The younger brother of Mac Crah had succeeded him as chief, and had managed to secure the succession to his own sons, excluding his nephews, who had the best right to the chieftainship. The Sliocht Mac Crah had to content themselves with an estate of twenty ploughlands, and the reversionary right to the chieftainship, if the ruling house should become extinct.

The anonymous author gives copious details of some seven other branches or septs of the O'Sullivans Mór.⁴³ In his day they were widely scattered on the Continent, many of them being priests, distinguished for their learning. Again and again he refers to the books of the clan in O'Sullivan Mór's possession, and speaks as if a friend of his intended to publish a history of the family.⁴⁴ All traces of these books have completely perished, as I have said. No less complete has been the destruction of the O'Sullivan family. Though still the most numerous family in Kerry, and the

⁴³ The nine branches he gives are:—(1) Mac Gillicuddy; (2) O'Sullivan, of Cumurhagh, or Mac Muirrihirtigg, who had 21 ploughlands; (3) O'Sullivan, of Glenbeigh, with 16 ploughlands; (4) O'Sullivan, of Caneah and Glanarcane, with 16½ ploughlands; (5) O'Sullivan, of Culemagort; (6) O'Sullivan, of Cappanacuss, with 20 ploughlands; (7) O'Sullivan, of Capiganine; (8) O'Sullivan, of Fermoye and Ballycarnea, with 8 ploughlands; (9) O'Sullivan, of Ballyvicgillaneulan.

⁴⁴ *I.e.*, he says, "I shall refer that to Mr. O'Connor, author of the intended work" (*Cork Archaeological Journal*, 1899, p. 230).

third in numbers in all Ireland, yet, of all the branches mentioned in the above-quoted work, with the exception of the Mac Gillycuddy of the Reeks, not one representative could be found a few years ago owning an acre in Kerry, nor can the descendants of any of these branches be traced to the present day.

As the O'Sullivan's treated the O'Sheas and O'Falvys, so did the Cromwellians treat them. Yet in this case, too, the Gaelic race persists. The land is now passing back into the hands of those whose forefathers lost it two hundred and fifty years or even seven hundred years ago.

The Survey gives pretty full lists of O'Sullivan Mór's payments to the Earl.

Thus the lands and castle of Dunloe paid yearly a sorren of 120 quirrens of butter and 120 sroans of oatmeal, valued at £3.

The five quarters of Dunloe paid yearly 72 quirrens and 72 sroans the quarter, which amounted to 360 of each, valued at £9; also 67 sheaves of oats out of every ploughland, and four ploughlands to the quarter amounted to 268 sheaves the quarter, so that five quarters pay 1,340 sheaves of oats, valued at £3 7s.; also out of every quarter in money 3s. 4d. and one white groat, equals 17s. 8d. and one groat (this does not seem correct). Total value, £13 4s. 8d. and one groat.

The quarter of Coolmagort paid yearly a cuddy or refec-tion, or in lieu thereof four marks, half-face money, which amounted to £4 8s. 8d. and two white groats.

The two quarters of Sliocht Mac Crah "paye yearlie for Dowgollo viiis. and for Canebeg iiis. and one white groat, which amounted to xis., one white groat."

The lands of Dunkerron, Gortewollin, Cappaghro, and Cappaghneecush paid yearly for Dowgollo 14s., for Canebeg 6s. 4d. and one groat, besides an uncertain sorren which cannot be valued.

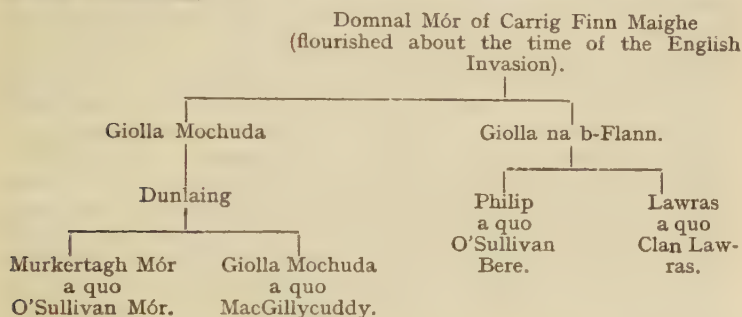
From Lackin and Dromeuineh, one quarter, the Earl had 5s. 4d. and two groats; from Glencare, two quarters, 8s.; from Glanvehe (Glanbeigh), 19s. 4d. and two groats.

O'Sullivan of Ballyvicgilleneulan paid from two quar-ters, 4s. a quarter for Dowgollo, and 8d. a quarter and two groats for Canebeg; total, 9s. 8d. and one groat. Finally, from other O'Sullivan lands in Iveragh, Mac Carthy Mór received £7 14s. The total from O'Sullivan Mór's country

is given as £32 ls. and one groat.⁴⁵ It was also charged with £6 yearly payable to the Earl of Desmond.⁴⁶

O'Sullivan Mór, of course, had the usual chief rents, duties, etc., from his own subjects. A list of chief rents of O'Sullivan Mór in 1651 is printed in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society* for 1898 on pages 209 and 210.

The following will show the relationship of some of the branches of the O'Sullivans:—



—Keating: Appendix to *History of Ireland*.

⁴⁵ Sir W. Herbert allots 200 ploughlands to O'Sullivan Mór, and says that McCarthy Mór had there the "finding" of 50 galloglasses, and £20 in "yearlie spending."

⁴⁶ *Cal. State Papers*, 1572.

3.—THE SEPTS OF THE MAC CARTHYS.

WHAT I have said about the O'Sullivans and O'Donoghues contains little that is absolutely new, though the information available up to the present about these clans has to be sought for in a variety of works. Where, however, the Survey is specially valuable is with regard to the various branches of the Mac Carthys and the lands allotted to each.

The most important of the various septs sprung from the Mac Carthy stock was the Sliocht Owen Mór, whose territory was called Cosh Maing, *i.e.*, the land along the river Maing or Maine. This sept, said to be sprung from Eoghan, son of Cormac Mor,¹ held a district estimated by Sir W. Herbert at eighty-four ploughlands. They held the whole frontier line dividing the Mac Carthys from the Desmonds,

¹ Cormac Mór was born in 1271, according to Pedigree in *Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Mór*. But as he died in 1359 (*Annals of Loch Cé*) such a date seems very improbable.

from Castlemaine to the border of County Cork. It is to be remarked that in the case of the other Mac Carthy lordships, Carbery, Muskerry, Duhallow, the border districts touching on English territory were nearly all in the hands of the respective chiefs of these territories. Some of their chief castles, too—Kilbrittain, Blarney, and Lohort—were in these border districts. We know that these castles and the lands round had been won by the Mac Carthys from the English; and we may gather from this that usually the lands conquered by a chief went to form part of his demesne, and were not divided up among his clansmen. But Mac Carthy Mór's demesne lands were none of them near the borders of his dominions. He seems to have entrusted the defence of his frontiers to the lords of Cosh Maing.

The district in the north of the barony of Magunihy occupied by this sept falls into two large masses of territory, joined by a narrow strip. Cosh Maing proper was south of the rivers Maine and Brown Flesk, with two narrow strips projecting to the north of the former river.² Its centre was the castle of Molahiffe, and there were two other castles—Firies and Cluonemeolane. The other portion (East Cosh Maing) lay around Rathmore. To the south of it lay the O'Donoghues, to the east the O'Dalys and Duhallow. The dues paid by this sept to Mac Carthy Mór amounted to £28 2s. 8d. and two "white groats." The allotment of this sum was peculiar. "The seven quarters in Muskry Logher, viz., Gortnegan, Senaghro, Gortderg, Rahmore, Kilcoan, Duffcarrig, Lisnegan³ . . . pay for Dowgollo iiiis. a quarter, and were accounted free from all other charges."

"The two quarters of Baslekan, Taur, and Laugher pay yearly for Dowgollo viiis. ster., and are otherwise free."⁴

"The rest of the lands of Coshmaing, which are x quarters and a half of chargeable lands and a third part, are lying in the barony of Magunihy, and did pay yearly a cuddy or refection of a supper and breakfast for the earl and his company, or else, in lieu thereof, five marks old money, which amounteth to £4 8s. 8d. and two white groats; also

² The Survey says: "The two quarters of Ne farrenne careh . . . are altogether free from the Earl of Clancartie, and do yearly pay to the abbey of Killaha XLs. These lands do lie upon the Mang on the north side." These two quarters possibly represent the two projecting bits of Magunihy. The map, however, only shows one projecting portion.

³ Of these, Gortnegan, Gortderg, Rathmore, Duffcarrig, are all to be found in the Ordnance Map as townlands in the parish of Kilcummin. Lisnegan is Headfort.

⁴ In 1641, Baslekan, Laugher, and Ardkearagh are given in the Books of Survey and Distribution as belonging to Thomas Brown. In 1720 Baslekan belonged to the Earl of Kenmare (Estate Map of that year).

for a sorren 160 quirrens of butter and 160 sroans of oatmeal, value £4; for Dowgollo after the rate of 12 quirrens of butter and 12 sroans of oatmeal per ploughland, there being 40 ploughlands (which amounteth?) to 480 quirrens of butter and 480 sroans of oatmeal, value £12 sterling; also 8d. and two white groats in every ploughland of 40, value 35s. 4d. sterling; also 40 sheaves of oats out of everie ploughland of 40, at 12d. (per twenty sheaves?), value £4; so that all the rent of these lands chargeable is £26 4s. 0d. and two white groats.”⁵ Then the two quarters which paid 40s. to the abbey of Killaha, but were free from the earl, are mentioned; and finally we are told: “There are two quarters dispersed among the other lands which were free lands, and bore no imposts.”

The above extracts give a pretty fair idea of the entries in the Survey, and of the extremely erratic way in which the different portions of the lands of one clan were assessed. No doubt, there was some reason why some lands were free, or almost free, and others burdened with all sorts of imposts; but, so far, we have no clue to what it was.

The two quarters of Baslekan, Taur, and Laughter were quite separate from the rest of the territory of Cosh Maing. They lay in what was then Iveragh, but is now Dunkerron, on the shore of Ballinskelligs Bay. The little stream which runs into the Waterville river from the south, just before it falls into the sea, bounded this district on the north and east. On the south the hills, which are crossed by Coom a Kista Pass, separated it from the lands of the Abbey of Derrynane.

There is a note in the Survey which runs:—“These lands are fallen to her Mtie by the attainder of the freeholders, and are part of the undertaker’s lands.” There is another note in the margin of the Survey which will perhaps explain why the lords of Cosh Maing sided with the Earls of Desmond against their overlord, Mac Carthy Mór, and the English. “These are freeholders of the sept of the Mac Carties and others, for the most part descended out of Mac Cartie’s house, and were his ancient enemies.”⁶

⁵ The entries *re* this sept are hard to read in parts. Forty ploughlands paying 8d. and two white groats per ploughland ought to give 35s. 4d. and two white groats. Also the total from Baslekan, Taur, and Laughter is given as 10s. 8d., although we are told that they contain 2 quarters, each paying 8s. On the whole, however, the Survey is singularly free from discrepancies of this kind.

⁶ *The Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Elizabeth, p. 170, A.D. 1588, mentions Teige Mac Dermot Mac Cormac as, apparently, the last lord of Cosh Maing, and says that Naffoyry, Rosindievan, and Clonmoelan, in said country, had been in occupation of Owen Mo Fynnen.

Having taken the part of the Earl of Desmond, the chief of this sept was slain in a skirmish at Aghadoe. His death while in rebellion was held to vest all the lands of his sept in the Crown. They were treated in the same way as those of O'Donoghue Mór, that is granted to the Brownes, then "restored" to Mac Carthy Mór, and mortgaged by him to Sir Nicholas Browne for £421 1s. 2d. The 23 quarters of Cosh Maing, with the 11½ quarters of Eoghanacht O'Donoghue,⁷ stretched right across Kerry from the borders of County Cork to the mountains above Tralee, and form at the present day the bulk of the immense Kenmare estate.⁸

The sept, however, did not become extinct. There is a certificate signed by King James II at St. Germain en Laye in 1695, to the effect that one Denis Mac Carthy, who had faithfully served him both in France and in Ireland, was son of Eugene, son of "Dermod Mac Carthy, of Cosmaigny in the County of Kerry, Esquire, one of the branches of the ancient house of Mac Carthy Mór."⁹

Sir W. Betham continued the pedigree through four descents, during which the family was settled in France, contributing several officers to the Irish Brigade.

By a curious turn of fate the last representative of the lords of Cosh Maing was a Colonel in the British service, and governor of Cape Coast Castle. His services won him a knighthood from the English King. His valour awakened the superstitious reverence of the Ashanti foes, who slew him in battle. Sir Charles Mac Carthy's skull long formed one of the choicest treasures of a fetish temple north of Coomassie.¹⁰

Much smaller in extent were the lands of Clan Donnell Finn.

⁷ According to Sir W. Herbert, Coshmaing had eighty-four ploughlands, and Eoghanacht O'Donoghue had forty-five.

⁸ In 1641 the parishes of Kilcummin and Molahiffe were entirely in the hands of the Brownes. So were all Kilvanea, except one ploughland named Cluonemeolane, which belonged to Charles Carthy, all the Kerry part of Noghaival, most of Killarney, a large part of Aghadoe and of Kilcredane.

⁹ I cannot identify this Dermod with any of the names in the Lambeth pedigree.

See for further details of this sept *The Mac Carthys of Munster*, by Judge Samuel Trant Mac Carthy (Mac Carthy Mór).

¹⁰ See Sir William Butler's "*Akimfoo*." There is in Vol. 626 of the *Carew MSS.* at Lambeth a pedigree of the Mac Carthys of Cosh Maing. It is interesting as illustrating the way in which a sept rapidly split up into smaller septs. Owen, the founder of the sept, had two sons, Cormac and Donnell, who founded two distinct branches, known respectively as West and East Cosh Maing. Cormac had two sons, who were each the progenitors of two sub-septs, so that in Carew's time there were four distinct sub-septs of West

A note to the Survey runs:—"These are freeholders of the sept of the Mac Carties, descended from Mac Carty More's house, and were his [fri]endes."¹¹

One portion of their lands lay near Mac Carthy Mór's chief house of Pallis. This district was of very irregular shape, as the Mac Crehan's Magunihy lands lay almost in the centre of it, and may possibly have divided it into two parts. The little river Gweestin ran through this territory.¹²

Somewhat larger, but much less fertile, was the district possessed by this sept in Iveragh. From the hill of Drung, where it joined the lands of the O'Sullivans of Glenbeigh, this district ran westward along the shore of Dingle Bay to the west limit of the townland of Roads, a little to the west of Kells. The upper valley of the river Ferta, to a point close to Deelish bridge, formed the rest of this territory. The Survey names seven denominations of land in this district; the map gives five more.¹³ The Iveragh lands paid Sorren and Dowgollo, and some of them paid Canebeg. The Magunihy lands paid beeves valued at 13s. 4d. each, hogs at 5s. each, and Dowgollo in butter, oatmeal, and money.

Further details as to this sept are given by Judge Trant Mac Carthy "Mac Carthy Mór" in his book *The Mac Carthys of Munster*.

He says the last of the family, Miss Evelina Mac Carthy, died at Cahirciveen at a great age in 1902. He gives also identifications of nearly all the townlands mentioned in the Survey.

Cosh Maing. This exactly corresponds to what Seebohm shows was the case in Wales, where the posterity of a land owner divided into the "gwelys" or "beds" of his sons, and the "gavells" of his grandsons, each obtaining separate existence when there were no kinsmen within the degree of second-cousin. There must have been some shifting of lands from time to time, for the head of the branch which Carew calls of Foyries also held Cluonemeolane, which had gone to an ancestor of another branch at the first partition of West Cosh Maing. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Eliz., 1588, p. 170.

¹¹ This sept is traced to Donnell Fionn, son of Cormac Fionn. (*Lambeth MSS. Pedigrees and Lainé*.)

¹² The Survey names the following lands in this territory:—Listry, Killinromane, Phaa (mod. Faha), Ballinemah, Gortnecløhe, Ardmelod. I cannot identify Ballinemah. Gortnecløhe is the modern Stonefield, parish of Kilbonane. The other names are on the Ordnance Maps. Ardmelod is on the western edge of Magunihy, close to Killaha, and in Kilcolman parish.

¹³ The names are, from Survey, Datirconioil, Lacarrongarriff, Laccaronboisty, Lismoroghe, Carronecorre, Ballinehow, Killognavin, and from map, Killonane, Tireomoiltas, Caherkellin, Caheruterush, and Tiremoiltoig. Some of these can be at once identified on the Ordnance Maps. This sept paid in all £14 15s. 8d. and one white goat to Mac Carthy Mór.

The angle bounded on the south by the Laune, and on the west by the lands of the Knights of St. John at Killorglin, belonged to the Sliocht Cormac of Dunguile. Dunguile, now spelt Dungeel, is shown on the Ordnance maps where the Laune makes a sudden turn southwards. This district corresponds with that part of Killorglin parish which lies in the barony of Magunihy. The same sept had another and somewhat larger district round the northern end of Caragh Lake. To the north of Caragh river the bounds of this territory can be accurately distinguished. They coincided with the modern boundary between Iveragh and Trughanacmy and Dunkerron. The left bank of the lower Caragh river also belonged to this sept. To the west, the little stream which crosses the high road near the Glenbeigh Hotel divided them from the O'Sullivans of Glenbeigh. For reasons to be mentioned later on, we cannot be sure how far south this district ran along the west bank of Caragh Lake. It was counted in Elizabethan times, and indeed to a much later period, as a detached portion of the barony of Magunihy, to which, as well as to the first-named district belonging to this sept, and part of that belonging to Clan Donnell Finn, the name of "The West Fractions" was given.¹⁴ At the time of the Survey this bit round Caragh Lake was omitted from the text, no doubt because the Magunihy surveyors left it to their Dunkerron *confrères*, and *vice versa*. In the maps it is put in as a bordering territory to Dunkerron, but left uncoloured.

There were two other districts owned by this sept, and lying in Iveragh. The first took in the lower valley of the Ferta, and the upper end of the Cahirciveen estuary. It ran along the south coast of Dingle Bay from the limits of Clan Donnell Finn at Roads, to the eastern boundary of the parish of Caher at Coonanna Harbour. South of the river Ferta, it was bounded on the west by the parish of Caher; on the east a range of hills separated it from Clan Donnell Finn. There was a castle named Srugreena in this district.

Finally, this sept held the extreme west point of the Island of Valentia and some of the northern shore.¹⁵

¹⁴ To the "East Fractions" belonged the townlands of Ballydaly and Coolecarragh, now in Muskerry, Co. Cork, and Devilish, Lemenagh, Dooneasleane, Illanbrack, and Baughallmore, now in Duhallow, as well as the Kerry portion of Noghaival Daly. To the "West Fractions" belonged the Magunihy portions of Killorglin and Kilcolman parishes, as well as the district round Caragh Lake, which is now in Iveragh barony.

¹⁵ Kilurly, Kippagh (mod. Cappagh), and Srougrone (mod. Srugreena) were on the mainland, and can be found on the Ordnance maps in the parish of Killinane. In Valentia this sept had Corebeg,

The representative of this family. Judge Samuel Trant Mac Carthy, of Srugreena, gives further details as to this sept in the book above referred to.

If the sept are descended from Cormac, son of Tadhg na Mainistragh, the head of the family would be the senior of the whole Mac Carthy clan.¹⁶ Accordingly, Judge Mac Carthy has recently taken the style of Mac Carthy Mór.

Lying entirely in Iveragh, but in several detached portions, were the lands of Sliocht Donnell Brick, otherwise called "Mac Teige ne Tough."

From Herbert's report we learn that "the country of Teignitown, *alias* Lough Leigh, contained thirty-two ploughlands," and that "the Earle claymeth it to be escheated to him for want of heirs right and legitimate."¹⁷ Lough Leigh (Loch Laoighech) we know was the old name of Lough Currane, Waterville Lake, as it is sometimes incorrectly called.

We should, therefore, expect to find this sept in possession of an extensive territory on, or close to, Lough Currane. But such is not the case. Both from the maps and the Survey we learn that this sept held at the time of the Earl's death, only four fractions of land, none of them of any great extent, and none of them near Lough Currane. These were Sheskinan, a fairly large but barren tract in the upper valley of the Inny, Cloghanmaccuin, the modern townland of Castlequin, north of the Cahirciveen river, the west portion of Comegognacaple, the modern Kimego West, close to the small harbour of Coomeroun, on Dingle Bay, and possibly including the modern townland of Emlagh, and finally about one-third of the island of Valentia. And this sept paid to Mac Carthy Mór the sum of £7 19s. 4d. and one white groat, in beeves, Dowgollow and Canebeg.

Now, how are we to reconcile the two accounts? The above-quoted remark of Sir W. Herbert's report will give

Brinemikane, Coul Finne, Feuhma. Feuhma is mod. Feaghman. In Magunihy, Dounguile, Lismacfinin, Corbally, Ballyberane, Dromen, Anglont, Dromanahin, Doneh, and Kilmore are given. The first seven can be at once identified. Srugreena is one of the few portions of the ancient Desmond still owned by a Mac Carthy, viz.: Judge Trant Mac Carthy, who traces his descent to the Daniel Mac Carthy mentioned in Smith's *History of Kerry* as dying in 1752, at the reputed age of 112. This Daniel's family held Srugreena in 1641, lost it, and got it back on lease in 1697.

¹⁶ This Cormac died in 1473, according to the *Annals of Loch Cé*.

¹⁷ Nicholas Browne distinguishes between Sliocht Donnell Brick, which he places among the "Friendes to McCartie More," and McTegenetwoe which he places among "others who took part with his enemies." And he adds after Clandermond, Claudonnellroe and McTegenetwoe. "Theis tooke part with Oswlyuanbere."

us some help, that, namely, which says that the Earl claimed that the land had fallen to him for want of heirs.

The ruling house of this sept had become extinct, and its lands had fallen to the paramount chief.¹⁸ But the sub-chief of a sept might have had other minor septs under him, as, for instance, we know that under the Mac Crehans there were O'Neills and O'Brennans in possession of some lands. Now, the lands of these sub-septs would not be affected by the extinction of the ruling sept.

The pieces of land given in the Survey as belonging to Sliocht Donnell Brick would, then, be the lands occupied by these sub-septs; they had not come into the Earl's hands, but they paid him the old duties, and perhaps also those which they formerly paid to the lord of Sliocht Donnell Brick.

And to confirm this view, we find from the Books of Survey and Distribution that in 1641 Clohanmaccuin belonged to Peter Connell, Comego West to Daniel Mac Cormac Carthy and Sheely Carthy, and Sheskinan to Owen O'Sullivan, "and others"; while of their Valentia lands the greater part was held by Peter and John Hussey.¹⁹

Furthermore, we find that while this sept held Cloghanmaccuin and Kimego West, the lands of Cloghanlinoghan, due east of Cloghanmaccuin, and the lands of Kimego East, due west of it and between it and Kimego West, were in possession of the Earl when he died. And in Valentia, while this sept held Ballikernyyrah West, the Earl had Ballikernyyrah East. And Cloghanlinoghan and Ballikernyyrah East were among the lands left by the Earl to his son Donnell; and we know from a report quoted in the *Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Mór*, that much of what was left to Donnell had been given him while the Earl was still alive, and had perhaps been only late acquisitions of the Earl's.²⁰ We may, then, pretty justly guess that originally the lands of Clan Donnell Brick took in that part of the parish of Caher which lies north of the Caherciveen river, with the exception of the castle and lands of Ballycarbery. Carhan, too, south of the Caherciveen river, was

¹⁸ We know from similar cases in Clare and elsewhere that when a subject clan became extinct, its lands fell to the paramount lord:—O'Brien, for instance, in Thomond.

¹⁹ Valentia was thus divided, according to the Survey and map:—Sliocht Cormac of Dinguile had the western point, the names given being Corbeg, Brinemikane, Coul Finne (mod. Cool), Feuhma (mod. Feaghman); Sliocht Donnell Brick had Coremore, Glanlim, and west Ballikernyyrah; the Earl had the east point, and east Ballikernyyrah.

²⁰ *Life and Letters*, pp. 150, 154.

given to Donnell by his father, and so may have formed part of the same district.

Yet this does not bring us into connection with Lough Leigh. From both map and Survey we find that the whole south shore of this lake, from the point where the Waterville river flows out to where the stream that drains Lough Coppal flows in, was called Kileughtereo (the modern Ightercua with Ballybrick and Caherfeary), and belonged to a sept called Sliocht nyne Rudderie—*i.e.*, Sliocht Inghine an Ridire, “the descendants of the knight’s daughter.” This sept also owned the northern shore of the lake, from where the Cumeragh river falls into it to a point near Waterville; and from the lake their lands ran north in a long, narrow strip, into the parish of Caher, till they touched the lands of Sliocht Cormac of Dinguile and Mac Crehan. The Survey and map give Canburren, Drunkereh, and Termonirrah as the names of these lands. The first two can be found on the Ordnance Map. The little “Termon’s Lake,” near Waterville, close to the bounds of the church lands of Ballinskelligs, possibly preserves part of the name of the last.²¹ The piece of land on which Waterville now stands, and between the lands of this sept and the sea was called Termoniharnett, and was part of the lands left by the Earl to his son Donnell. Now, Termoniharnett, Ightercua, and the lands of this sept north of the lake enclose almost the whole circuit of Lough Currane, one small piece of the north-east shore being part of the lands of the O’Sullivans.

We are therefore tempted to regard this Sliocht nyne Rudderie, of whom, beyond the fact that they were a Mac Carthy sept, I know nothing, as in some way or other representing Sliocht Donnell Brick.²²

Furthermore, we find that south-west of Ightercua were the lands of Taur, etc., of which we have already spoken as belonging to Sliocht Owen Mór of Coshmaing; and west of these the projecting bit of land now called Hog’s Head belonged to Mac Fyneen. These lands, now in Dunkerron, were then part of Iveragh; and each of the three—Ightercua, Taur, and Ballyne (Mac Fyneen’s land)—had as

²¹ Termoniharnett is marked on the sixteenth-century map where Waterville now stands. Termonirrah was probably next it towards the north-east. Both names would mark the end of the property of Ballinskelligs priory.

²² In 1641 Ighter Cuo, Ballybreck, and Caherfeary, south of Lough Currane, and Drunkeare, north of it, belonged to Owen oge Carthy (*Books of Survey and Distribution*). Canburren belonged at the same date to Morris Connell (*ibid.*).

mountain pasture a portion of the valley drained by Lough Coppal.

This distribution of land is very curious, and leads to the conjecture that perhaps these detached bits of Sliocht Owen Mór's and Mac Fyneen's lands had once formed part of the territory of Sliocht Donnell Brick. We notice, too, that in Valentia this sept had Coremore, while Sliocht Cormac of Dunguile had Corebeg; and, from the map, the lands of Tinnies were divided between them.

We are led, then, to conclude that we see here the effects of the distribution of the lands of an extinct sept, in accordance with the law of gavel-kind. Some portion remained in the hands of sub-septs, unconnected by blood with the ruling house, and are entered in the Survey, under the old name, Sliocht Donnell Brick. Some remained with Sliocht nyne Rudderie, which in some way represented or was an offshoot from the original sept, but for some reason or other could not succeed to the chieftainship.²³ Some fell to Mac Carthy Mór, as head of the whole Mac Carthy house. And some, very possibly, went to other Mac Carthy septs, viz.: to Sliocht Owen Mór, Mac Fyneen, and Sliocht Cormac of Dunguile.

All this is, of course, mere conjecture; perhaps some of my readers can put forward some other theories. Accepting my view, however, we would ascribe to the original territory of Sliocht Donnell Brick a large district round Lough Leigh, stretching across the Inny valley, and into that of the Ferta, a smaller portion (Sheskinan),²⁴ in the Upper Inny valley, another district in the parish of Caher, on both sides of the Caherciveen estuary, and finally the larger half of the island of Valentia. These pieces, taken together, might make up the thirty-two ploughlands allotted by Herbert to this sept.

We now leave Iveragh, and pass over Dunkerron, which was practically all in O'Sullivan hands, to the barony of Glancought. Here the whole parish of Kilgarvan²⁵ belonged to Mac Fyneen, a sept descended from Dermot Mac Carthy, son of Donnell, King of Desmond, which Dermot was murdered at Tralee, in 1325, by the Lord of Kerry, as he sat at the assizes, on the bench beside the judge. Details about

²³ Sliocht nyne Rudderie paid beeves, Dowgollo, Sorren, and Canebeg, the total amounting to £9 16s. 8d.

²⁴ Sheskinan had 7,050 acres according to the *Books of Survey and Distribution*.

²⁵ The whole parish of Kilgarvan belonged in 1641 to Colonel Donough Mac Fyneen and to Dermot Mac Fyneen, except about 900 acres, the property of Edmund Mc Mole Murry (*Books of Survey and Distribution*).

this sept have been published in the *Journal of the Cork Archaeological Society* for 1896. They are from the pen of Mr. Randall Mac Fyneen Mac Carthy, the present representative of the chiefs of this sept.

Mac Fyneen's residence was at Ardtully, near Kenmare—a castle rendered famous as having given hospitality to the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, when he landed in the Kenmare estuary in 1645. The Survey mentions six "quarters" of land in this district as paying Dowgollo in beeves and money, and Canebeg, and five of them paid an uncertain sorren whenever the Earl passed through this district into Bere and Bantry, or County Cork.

Besides this main district, which paid yearly to Mac Carthy Mór £13 13s. 4d., this sept had two small detached territories. The first was the point, now called Hog's Head, which forms the southern boundary of Ballinskelligs Bay. It ran inland as far as the modern coach-road, over Coomakista pass. On the east it was bounded by the lands of Derrynane Abbey, on the north-east by the detached bit of Sliocht Owen Mór of Coshmaing. As I have said before, I am inclined to assign this small district to the original territory of Lough Leigh, or Sliocht Donnell Brick.²⁶

The second detached portion was in Magunihy. The Survey mentions seven denominations of land here. Five of these can be found on the Ordnance map, on the right bank of the little river Deenagh, which flows through Lord Kenmare's domain, into the Lower Lake.²⁷ They lay north of the main road from Killarney to Killorglin. The two others, Tullagh and Ballyspillane,²⁸ were on the left of the Deenagh. The present Deer-park separates the modern townlands of Tullig and Ballyspillane from the former five. Probably, it also formed part of Mac Fyneen's lands. It would be interesting to know how this sept came into possession of this territory, surrounded, as it was on all sides, by the lands of O'Donoghue Mór. The Survey says

²⁶ In 1641, Ryneisaragh, the modern Hog's Head, belonged to Fynine Mac Dermot Carty, and Ballyne, Ballylane, and Rinneen, to Colonel Donough Mac Fyneen.

²⁷ Their names are Balledouny, Coulgarrif, Cline (mod. Cleeny), Carecrehan (mod. Caher), and Knockneharsnet. This last belonged, in 1641, to Florence Mac Dermot Carthy, the others to Eliza Stephenson, *alias* Fyneen. In Muckross Abbey is a slab with the date 1631 and the inscription *Orate pro Donaldto Mac Finan et Elizabeth Stephenson*. Among the names of transplanters in the *Ormonde MSS.* (Vol. II, Old Series, 1899) is Elizabeth Mac Finny, *alias* Stephenson, widow, 372 acres.

²⁸ Ballispyllane belonged to Donogh Mac Finnin Carthy at the same date (*Books of Survey and Distribution*): so did Tullig, or, as it is spelt in Vallancey's map, Culligg.

that this district, as well as that near Hog's Head, was free from all payments to Mac Carthy Mór, doing only "suit and service" to his court, and "rising out" with him when he made war. But as to the reason for this it gives, unfortunately, no information.

Almost the whole of the next parish in this barony, the ancient Kilmaire, the modern Kenmare, was also in Mac Carthy hands. Almost all that portion of the parish, south of the River Roughty, belonged to the sept of Clan Dermond.²⁹ North of the Roughty, this sept had also some lands; and there were two other septs, also apparently Mac Carthys, in possession of most of the rest. These were the Sliocht Nedeén (Nedeén was the old name of Kenmare), and the Clan Teig Kittagh. I have not been able to distinguish the boundaries of their respective districts. The map here is quite inaccurate, and the *Books of Survey and Distribution* do not give much help. Each of these two septs paid beeves, Dowgollo, and Canebeg, and a share of sorren along with Clan Dermond's land of Gortagas. Sliocht Nedeén's payments amounted to £4 11s., and a white groat; Clan Teig Kittagh's to £2 5s. 4d., and two groats.³⁰

The Mac Carthys of Clan Dermond had also another district in Bere. The Survey gives the following names in this territory:—Ballicastlane, Derikevin, Kilmacowen, and Nyhinche. The first corresponds to the modern Castletown. There was a castle here, Castle Dermot by name, which is mentioned in *Pacata Hibernia*, in connection with the siege of the neighbouring Dunboy. Apparently the Clan Dermond suffered during the troubles connected with the Desmond rebellion, for the O'Sullivan award speaks of the four quarters of "Clandermodie whereunto her Majestie maketh title," and one of the sept was attainted by the Act 28th Eliz., chap. vii. In 1641 Castletown, Inches (Nyhinché of Survey), Dirrikinny, and Dirrikeene, were in the hands of

²⁹ In 1641 the part of this parish south of the Roughty, and west of the Sheen, was all called Ballygriffin, and belonged to Sheely ni Daniel, who also had Comeenboy, north of the Roughty. Mrs. Elizabeth Fyneen and Fyneen Mac Dermot Carthy between them had all the rest of the parish south of the Roughty (except Mac Gillycuddy's land). Mrs. E. Fyneen had also a large amount of land north of the Roughty, partly in Nedeén, partly lands in Clan Dermond. Most of the rest of the parish belonged to Daniel Mac Teige Duff, who represented either Sliocht Nedeén or Clan Teig Kittagh. The Survey assigns only two quarters, named Dromagour, to this last sept, and to Sliocht Nedeén, Nedeén and Killaserah. Nedeén took in most of the north-west of the parish. I cannot identify either Killaserah or Dromagour.

³⁰ The Survey assigns Gortagas, Corremore, Balligriffin, Kilmichil, Killone, and Kilinne to Clan Dermond in this district.

the Earl of Cork. At the same date Fyneen Mac Dermod, and Dermod Mac Fyneen, owned Kilmacowen, and, possibly, some of Inches, over 2,000 acres. These lands form the upper part of the valley of the Eyerries river. From the *Down Survey* map it would appear that the lands held by the Earl of Cork ran across the peninsula of Bere, from Castletown to Coulagh Bay. If these lands corresponded with the lands of Clan Dermod, we are confronted with the curious fact that the limits of this clan did not follow the natural mountain boundaries. The land on Coulagh Bay was cut off from the rest by the rugged hills of Slieve Miskish. The same range divides the valley of the Eyerries river from the coast at Castletown; but here there is a pass through which the modern road to Eyerries runs.

According to the Survey, Mac Carthy Mór had from Clan Dermod £9 18s., and two white groats yearly. Sir W. Herbert says this sept had twenty-eight ploughlands, and that Mac Carthy Mór had there £40 in yearly spending. From the grant to Owen O'Sullivan Bere in the *Patent Rolls* IX of James I, we learn that the Bere lands of Clan Dermod paid £2 6s. 8d. to the Earls of Desmond, as their share of the £214 odd, which the earls had out of Mac Carthy Mór's country.³¹ The grant names another townland, Ballincallagh.

In the neighbouring barony of Bantry was another Mac Carthy sept, Clan Donnell Roe. Their lands amounted to eight quarters, containing, as appears from the *Down Survey*, twenty-five and a half ploughlands. They lay, as also appears from the *Down Survey*, in three detached portions. In one of these, on the coast near Bantry, was the castle of Dunamark. The chief of this sept fell in the Desmond rebellion, and his lands were confiscated. Like the lands of Cosh Maing and Eoghanacht O'Donoghue, they passed ultimately to the Brownes, though Herbert says that they were in the Earl's hands by her Majesty's gift, and some of them were granted to Rd. Beacon in 1594.

The return in the Survey relating to this sept is curious. The territory paid yearly to Mac Carthy Mór twenty ounces of silver, each valued at two shillings, and two white groats sterling, £2 4s. and four groats, in all. We are at once reminded of the ounces of silver in O'Brien's

³¹ The lands of Ballincallagh, Castleton, Inchy, Killmacowen, and Dirrikyvyne paid each 9s. 4d. yearly to the Earls of Desmond. The King now grants this to Owen O'Sullivan Bere. (*Cal. of Patent Rolls*, IX, James I). The castle and manor of Clandermod and Kylarmock in the County of Cork were granted to Richard Beacon in 1594. Morris, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 266.

Rent Roll, and in the payments of the Welsh tribesmen to their prince, given in Seebohm's *English Village Community*, and his *Tribal System in Wales*. We have here a survival of the time when the English monetary system had not been introduced, and when the Celtic peoples used the Gallic or late Roman system, in which the pound of silver was divided into twelve ounces, and each ounce into twenty pennyweights. These lands, also, "did yield two uncertain sorrens when the Earl did pass to-and-fro among them."³²

There remains one more Mac Carthy sept, the Sliocht Finnin Duff, of Ardeanagh. This sept took its name from Ardeanaghty, two ploughlands north of the river Maine, near its mouth. Ardeanaghty paid chiefry to the Earls of Desmond, and nothing to Mac Carthy Mór. But this sept also had five ploughlands in Magunihy, called Knocknahornaght, the modern Barley Hill, which paid him, between them, £2 4s. 4d., and a white groat yearly.³³

Besides the members of the three great clans—O'Donoghues, O'Sullivans, and Mac Carthys—there were several minor clans, some of them of uncertain origin, mentioned in the Survey. Thus in Magunihy there was a small district on the Laune belonging to a sept called Sliocht Murry. It lay in the parish of Kilbolane on both sides of the river Gweestin, and included the townlands of Kilbolane, Ballymalis, Culleeny, and Culerue, all of which can be readily identified on the Ordnance Map. There was a castle at Ballymalis, on the banks of the Laune, the ruins of which are still conspicuous. Mac Carthy Mór had £4 yearly out of this district.

Miss Hickson, in her notice of this Survey in *Kerry Records*, declares that the Sliocht Murry were the Moriarties. From the *Books of Survey and Distribution*, as well as from other sources, we know that the chief branches of the Moriarties were subjects of the Earls of Desmond, and that their lands lay chiefly in the parish of Garrin-

³² The sept of Clan Donnell Roe is derived from Eoghan, son of Donnell Roe, by Keating and a Lambeth Pedigree. But Mac Firis makes this Eoghan son of Donnell Roe's son and successor, Donnell, and generally called Donnell Oge (d. 1303), but sometimes Donnell Roe. The Act 28th Eliz., Chap VIII, attaints three of this sept. In a long list in *Lam. MSS.*, Vol. 617, of "traitors" during the Desmond rebellion six members of this sept are named.

³³ In 1641 Ardeanaghty belonged to John Mac Fyneen Carthy, and was confiscated in due course by Cromwell. Knocknahornaght was then "Protestant land."

The sept of Ardeanaghty is derived from Donough, son of Cormac Mór, and brother of the founders of the lines of Muskerry and Cosh Maing.

clondrig, in the barony of Trughanaemy. In 1641 all the lands of Sliocht Murry belonged to Murriagh Mc Owen Ferris and Ferris Mc Owen. We find Murrough Mc Owen Ferris, no doubt the same as the Murriagh mentioned above, in possession at the same date of the east part of the adjoining district of Sliocht Cormac of Dinguile. And he also had lands in Lower Glencar, close to the head of Caragh Lake, forming part of the "West Fractions." I have no idea as to who this Murrough Mc Owen Ferris was, nor as to how he came into possession of such a large property. Perhaps on this, as on many other points in this chapter, some Kerry antiquary could throw light.³⁴

Also in Magunihy, and in that part known as the East Fractions, was seated a branch of the great bardic family of O'Daly. This family, said to be originally from Westmeath, were hereditary poets to Mac Carthy Mór, Mac Carthy Reagh, the Earls of Desmond, and O'Brien of Thomond. In each of the territories of these lords they had lands assigned to them, free of all, or nearly all, charges.³⁵ Therefore the O'Dalys of Desmond are not mentioned in the Survey. We know, however, that they held the Kerry portion of the parish, called from them Noghaival Daly, as well as Ballydaly and Coolecarragh, which were counted, up to recent times, as part of County Kerry, though surrounded on three sides by Muskerry and Duhallow.³⁶

The map of Glanerought marks a sept named O'Griffin in possession of a small district south of the Kenmare river,

³⁴ Nicholas Browne gives the Sliocht Murry as unconnected by blood with any of the other great clans.

Local tradition declares that Ballymalis castle was built by a branch of the Moriarties, and that Ferris was a name assumed by this branch of the family. It would appear that some of the family retained their connection with this neighbourhood till recently. By the invasions of the O'Donoghues and Mac Carthys the greater part of the O'Moriarty clan were driven westward, but we may suppose that one branch managed to remain in possession of a small portion of their original territories. I am indebted for these particulars to Captain Moriarty, Royal Irish Regt.

Morris Ferris, of the Co. Kerry, gent., is set down in the *Ormonde MSS.* as having received 340 acres on transplantation to Connaught or Clare.

³⁵ The Earls of Desmond were entitled to have their charges borne for a day and a night by the "rimers" in Slieve Luachra, &c., whenever they crossed the mountains between Kerry and Conneloe. *Carew Cal.*, 1572.

³⁶ The Cork portion of Noghaival belonged in 1641 to O'Keeffe. At the same date the Kerry portion belonged to the Brownes. Eneas and Cormack Daly had Ballydaly and Coolecarragh.

and west of Clandermond. The old church of Kilmaire is marked as being in their territory. The name survives in the townland of Ballygriffin. But the Survey returns this as part of the lands of Clandermond; and from Vallancey's map we know that in 1641 Ballygriffin comprised the whole of the parish of Kilmaire west of the River Sheen. Ballygriffin in this year belonged to Sheely ni Daniel. This sept is not mentioned at all in the Survey, and was therefore either a sub-sept of the Clan Dermond or had become extinct. There is indeed another possibility. The *Books of Survey and Distribution* assign the townlands of Killagha and Derriveehy in 1641 to a certain Murtagh Mac Ryry; and these townlands, which lie next to Kenmare parish in the parish of Tuosist, correspond in shape to the district assigned by the Elizabethan map to the O'Griffins. Possibly, then, Murtagh Mac Ryry represented this sept. On the other hand, he may have been an O'Sullivan. I have, therefore, not entered O'Griffin on my map.

In Bere we find two small clans, representing in all probability the old owners of Bere before its conquest by the O'Sullivans. These were O'Linchigh and O'Donegan. The former held Kilcateran (mod. Kilcatherine), Couleh (mod. Coulagh), and Carechem (mod. Cahirquin). The *Down Survey* and the Inquisition on Owen O'Sullivan add Eyeries to this district. Cahirquin was separated from the rest by the townland of Urhin belonging to the O'Sullivans. The lands of O'Linchigh, together with Kilmacowen and Inches, made up the old parish of Kilcatherine. In the same way O'Donegan's lands, with Killaghagh, which in 1641 belonged to Donogh O'Sullivan Bere, made up the old parish of Kilmanagh. In fact, in many cases the old parish boundaries (these have often been modified in the nineteenth century) give us the limits of the old septs or clans, and were, in fact, the still older "tuath" in an ecclesiastical garb.

O'Linchigh's land was valued as $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, and paid a sorren yearly, or in lieu thereof eighteen ounces of silver, valued at two shillings and two white groats the ounce, 40s. in all. And we learn from King James' grant to Owen O'Sullivan Bere that this sept paid O'Sullivan £4 13s. 4d. Very possibly they paid something to the Earl of Desmond as well, and, of course paid all the usual dues to their own chief. All this made up a very considerable burthen on such a small district.

O'Donegan's lands were estimated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, but he paid the same amounts as O'Linchigh, viz., 40s. to Mac Carthy Mór, and £4 13s. 4d. to O'Sullivan Bere. The

lands of this small clan were Carrownidonegan, Kilmanneh, and Knocknegourgal.

There are various names of small septs given in the *Books of Survey and Distribution* of which the *Elizabethan Survey* takes no notice. Of these the O'Connells and O'Falvys have been already mentioned. The O'Lynes were large proprietors in Dunkerron. The O'Brennans held lands in Mac Crehan's territory, and also under the O'Sullivans of Ballymaegilleneulan. They are said to have been a branch of the well-known Kilkenny clan of that name, and to have come into Kerry in comparatively recent times. The parish of O'Brennan in Trughanaemy received its name from them, according to the editor of the *History of Kerry*, published in the *Journal of the Cork Archaeological Society*. This "anonymous author" gives many curious details about this family.

Finally, as a curiosity, must be mentioned the O'Neills holding, amongst other lands, the point of Reenard where the ferry-boat to Valentia now starts. Anyone who has ever sailed over to that island scarcely needs to be told that the best-known name at Reenard is still that of O'Neill. This sept were subjects of the Mac Crehans, but whether they were an offshoot from that clan, or from the Ulster O'Neills, I cannot determine.

The total sum of all Mac Carthy Mór's revenues is given as £266 5s. 10d. and two white groats, besides the uncertain sorrens, etc. The Survey tells us that he had had four sorrens yearly from Duhallow. But, says the Survey, the gentlemen of Duhallow were unwilling that the Earl should come into the country, therefore they compounded and sent a money payment instead, amounting to £26 13s. 4d. a year, each of the four clans which held Duhallow paying one quarter. This amount is included in the total given above. In this case then the sorren was valued at £6 13s. 4d.

According to Herbert the Earl also had a chief rent of £11 a year from the Barretts of County Cork, the castle and lands of Mashanaglass in Muskerry, and the lands of Carrow Cormac in Duhallow. One pound in England at the close of the sixteenth century was equivalent to about twelve of the present day, and in Ireland probably to very much more. Even allowing for this, Mac Carthy Mór's revenues will at first sight seem small until we realise that in 1575 the whole annual revenue of the Crown in Ireland amounted only to £11,000. The Survey, too, takes no account of certain items, such as the cessing of Galloglasses, or the payment of a fixed sum in lieu of each, probably because this was considered an illegal extortion.

But that this might be an important item of revenue appears from the agreement of 1565 between Mac Carthy Mór and Sir Owen O'Sullivan of Bere.

Included in the total also are revenues from certain church lands. The Priors of Inisfallen and Killaha (otherwise called de Bello Loco) and the Archdeaconry of Aghadoe, each paid a Cuddy yearly, or £4 8s. 8d. in lieu thereof, at the choice of the prior or the archdeacon. Ballinskelligs paid a sorren or £4 8s. 8d., again at the choice of the prior. Ahamore, now commonly called Derrynane, said to have been a small establishment of Canons Regular of St. Augustine,³⁷ paid a beef a quarter out of five quarters, or else £3 8s. 8d.

Besides the revenues enumerated, he had rents from the occupiers of the sixty odd ploughlands which he had in demesne. On these demesne lands were settled a dependent, in many cases semi-servile class, sharply differentiated from the land owning class, and corresponding to what Seebohm calls the *non-tribesmen* in Wales, the *taeogs* or *aillts*.

To this class, in Ireland, we can apply the general term *non-free*, although there were many grades among them; and by the date of Survey they were, no doubt, for the most part, personally free. The State Papers frequently refer to them under the name of "churls" they appear to be alluded to under the name "followers" in other sources.

Their essential mark was that they did not own land:³⁸ they were neither what the Irish called "hereditary proprietors" nor what the English called "freeholders." It is plain from Irish sources that they varied in status and tenure; but there is a good deal of evidence that, as a rule, they were settled on the lands of the chiefs in a position little better than that of tenants at will.

We are told that "the arch-chiefs of Hy Many had the power to increase the rents on these tribes," i.e., certain "enslaved" tribes, which are named, "ad libitum." An Anglo-Irish writer states that O'Neill took from his tenants almost all their butter, which was the chief part of their living.

Some of this class, too, supplied labour for such tillage

³⁷ Cusack's *History of Kerry*.

³⁸ They were settled on the demesne lands of the chiefs, both of the ruling and of the subject clans; and in cases where the actual land-owning members of a sept were few, as we know was the case in much of Desmond, Muskerry, and Carbery, we may assume that they formed the bulk of the population. Philip O'Sullivan says of the 300 women, children and other unarmed persons massacred in Dursay Island by the English at the time of the siege of Dunboy that most of them were tenants (*obaerati*) of his father.

as the lord carried on; they tended his cattle, his horses and his dogs, repaired his dwelling, and, in general, provided for all his casual wants. We have a pretty accurate knowledge of the services exacted from the villeins of an English manor, and from the *nativi* settled round the principal residence of the Princes of North Wales at Aberffraw.³⁹ In time these services were commuted for fixed money rents, and the amount of eggs, fowl, butter, etc., to be required from each was defined. In Ireland this system of payments in kind, which has nothing specifically Gaelic or Celtic in it, but which seems to have been common over Western Europe, lasted later than elsewhere, and presented to English observers of Elizabethan times an element of uncertainty and a possibility of extortion repugnant to their ideas.

The revenues coming from his demesne lands may be looked on as the privy purse of the chief. His revenues from the under clans were, as it were, a tax to enable him to defend his whole country.⁴⁰

Practically Mac Carthy Mór had no private expenses. If O'Sullivan Bere supplied all the fodder necessary for Mac Carthy's horses at the Palace, we may suppose that other vassals supported his stables at Ballycarbery and Castlough. His hounds, as we have seen, and all his hunting train were kept in Bere and Bantry; his hawks probably in some other district, of course at the subject's expense. As for his standing army, that, too, was largely cessed on the vassal clans. Herbert mentions two hundred and fifty-eight galloglasses, or seven hundred and seventy-four men and boys in all, as supported by eight of the subject countries; and from the agreement of Sir Owen O'Sullivan, and a list of his forces given in the *Carew Calendar*, 1569, it would seem that this estimate is a long way under the truth. This was in time of peace. In war he could quarter soldiers on the country to almost any extent. For his food, he must seldom have found it necessary to dine at home, or at his own expense. The hides of the animals killed for his food by his vassals in Desmond properly so called, were enough to form the greater part of the salary of his steward. His queen

³⁹ Skene, in *Celtic Scotland*, quotes from a description of the Western Isles of Scotland compiled, he says, between 1577 and 1595. This says that no labourers of the ground were permitted to go out to war, but only "gentlemen quhilk labouris not" (p. 439). It also gives many curious details about the "yeirlie dewties" in butter, cheese, corn, ale, wine, cattle, silver, etc., as well as the uncertain Cuddies; the same system in fact as in Desmond.

⁴⁰ Mac Geoghegan was bound "to spend his whole country" if his vassal, The Fox, was attacked.—"Indenture of Mac Geoghegan and The Fox," *Miscellany of Irish Archæological Society*, vol. i.

and his tanist had lands of their own, money rents, and the right to a certain number of days' entertainment from the subject clans. If he wanted law, or poetry, or to have his exploits recorded in history, he got it all for nothing. His brehon MacEgan, his court poet O'Daly, his historian O'Duinnin, all had lands set apart for their support, and had various other emoluments, of course at the cost of the people. O'Daly, in particular, had a right to the wedding garments of every girl married in Desmond and Duhallow, and for fear she might spoil them took them on the wedding day itself, as appears by the petition to a Cork jury in 1576 of one Margaret ny Scully, whose clothes were taken from her by force, she apparently being sufficiently in advance of her time to object to this right of O'Daly's.⁴¹

The final point to be considered is what was the result of the Survey. The Government seem to have acted in this case with great fairness. All those rights, which may be called sovereign rights, those namely of quartering soldiers on the country in time of peace, and calling out the armed strength of the subject clans in time of war, as well as any profits arising from the administration of justice, would naturally go to the Crown. As to the seigniories, chief rents, spendings, etc., enjoyed by the lord, it was the practice of the Government in all such cases either to commute them for a fixed yearly chief rent, or else to give the actual chief some compensation for his lifetime, and then to declare that after his death all such "cuttings and spendings" should cease altogether.⁴² But in this case, since Mac Carthy Mór died without male heirs, all his spendings, chief rents, seigniories, etc., were reserved to the Crown.⁴³ Furthermore, all claims of the late Earl, or of his son-in-law, Florence, to lands in Clan Donnell Roe, Bere, Clan Dermod, and "other places" were to be passed to the Crown and extinguished.⁴⁴

There remained then the actual demesne lands to deal with. A large portion of these, some twenty ploughlands more or less, are returned in the Survey as having been assigned to the Earl's natural son, Donnell.⁴⁵ Probably

⁴¹ *Cork Historical and Archæological Journal*, vol. ii.

⁴² Notable examples occur in the *Composition of Thomond and Connaught*, made in 1585. The Connaught portion is published at the end of *The Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*. The Clare portion is given in White's *History of Clare and the Dalcassian Clans*.

⁴³ *Cal. of Carew MSS.*, 1599.

⁴⁴ *Cal. of Carew MSS.*, 1599. These claims mostly arose from the forfeitures arising out of the Desmond rebellion.

⁴⁵ During the lifetime of the earl, as appears from letters at pp. 149, 150, and 154 of *Life and Letters*.

many of these lands had been acquired by the Earl during his lifetime, either by purchase, or through escheat owing to "failure of heirs right and legitimate," and so by Irish law he could dispose of them as he liked. Donnell's claim was acknowledged by the Crown, and the lands were passed to him by letters patent.⁴⁶ He received a fresh grant of the same lands from James I in 1605, with remainder to his reputed son, Donnell, and the heirs of this son.⁴⁷

This second Donnell, Donnell Oge, seems to have resided at Ballincarrig, not far from Ballybrack station. His property was confiscated by Cromwell, and never restored.⁴⁸

As to the rest of the demesne lands, twenty-nine ploughlands were returned as in possession of the widowed countess as her dower.⁴⁹ All, or most of these passed, on her death, to her daughter Ellen, and to Florence, Ellen's husband.⁵⁰ Florence was already in possession of Castlelough and Muckross, with six ploughlands adjoining, which had been mortgaged to him by his father-in-law.⁵¹ Ballycarbery, with 7½ ploughlands more, had been mortgaged to the Brownes, who kept them.

More than half of the demesne lands, with the castles of Pallis and Castlelough, thus passed ultimately to Florence Mac Carthy, in right of his wife. During the stress of the war with O'Neill he was allowed to take the title of Mac Carthy Mór, and even to exercise all the prerogatives attached to that name; but, on his imprisonment in 1601, all these prerogatives were finally extinguished.

⁴⁶ These lands were estimated at seven quarters.—*Life and Letters*. The detailed return is given in the *Survey*. The date of the Patent was June, 1598 (*Life and Letters*, p. 379).

⁴⁷ *Life and Letters*, p. 379.

⁴⁸ There is a Royal Letter given in the *Cal. State Papers*, 1663, p. 183, recognising the loyalty of Col. Daniel Mac Carthy of Ballincarrig and his sufferings for the Royal cause, and giving him leave to amend his claim before the Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement and to put in new claims. But neither the letter nor his loyalty were of any use. The *Books of Survey and Distribution* show that he did not recover his estates.

⁴⁹ The Queen's warrant to put the countess in possession of one-third of the earl's estate is dated August, 1598, and is given on p. 155 of *Life and Letters*.

⁵⁰ See p. 374 of *Life and Letters* for King's Letter, dated 4th of James I, ordering a fresh grant to Lady Ellen and her sons.

⁵¹ The *Survey* makes this quite clear; also, from *Books of Survey and Distribution*, these lands were in possession of Florence's descendants in 1641. The grant of Castle Lough, etc., to Donnell, dated 1605, and quoted at p. 379 of *Life and Letters*, "was, in all probability, for the separate use and benefit of Mac Carthy Móre's wife ('i.e., Ellen') without the control of her husband, Florence" (*Life and Letters*, p. 448).

The great estates he had received with his wife passed in due course to his descendants.⁵² As Catholic property, they were confiscated under the Commonwealth, as, by a curious turn of fortune, were those of Florence's adversaries, the Brownes. But, like the Brownes, the Mac Carthys, Florence, grandson of the other Florence, and his mother, Sarah, sister of the Marquis of Antrim, were fortunate enough to recover most of their property, including Pallis, Muckcross, and Castletlough, at the Restoration. Again they passed in safety through the Williamite confiscations. But before the Revolution of 1688 the family estate had been somewhat diminished. Cahernane was sold, in 1684, to Maurice Hussey; and Florence II granted Castletlough to his first cousin, Denis. The eldest son of this Denis went to France, where a son of his was alive in 1764. This son is said to have had several brothers, representatives of whom may still exist in France. Another son of Denis inherited Castletlough, and transmitted it to his son Randal. But Randal, for some reason or other, sank in the world, sold Castletlough to the Crosbie family, in the time of George II, and was unable to provide for his children, so that they were bred up to trades, and were all uneducated paupers. Their descendants—offspring of so many kings—are perhaps to be looked for among the boatmen and car-drivers of Killarney.⁵³

The elder branch survived some time longer, and kept alive the old title of Mac Carthy Mór. They resided chiefly at Pallis. Already early in the eighteenth century, the Herberts—sprung from an "Undertaker" of Elizabeth's day—appear as living at Muckcross, which they had leased.⁵⁴

Florence Mac Carthy Mór, great-great-grandson of Florence and Ellen, conformed to the Protestant Church. He ob-

⁵² One would scarcely realise this when reading *The Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Mór*; but the author fails to distinguish the lands of Cosh Maing and Eoghanacht O'Donoghue, which were the subject of the controversy between the Brownes and the Mac Carthys, from the demesne lands. The *Books of Survey and Distribution* show clearly that the bulk of the demesne lands passed to Lady Ellen and her posterity.

⁵³ For these details, see p. 448 of *Life and Letters*.

In an account of Tennyson's visit to Killarney he is said to have met a car driver, descended from Brian Boru. This seems obviously a slip of memory for a descendant of Mac Carthy Mór.

⁵⁴ Miss Hickson, *Notes on Kerry Topography* (Journal, R.S.A.I., 1890-91, p. 44).

In 1720 Ballycarbery, Comegonacapple, and the lands westward to Dowlus Head belonged to the Earl of Kenmare (Kenmare estate maps, 1720).

tained a commission in the Life Guards, and married Agnes Herbert, mixing for the first time the Mac Carthy blood with that of the Elizabethan settlers. They had one son, Charles, who died, childless and unmarried, in 1770.⁵⁵ By will he left all his estates to his mother's family, the Herberts, excluding his Catholic relatives, the O'Donoghues of the Glen, who represent the Mac Carthy Mór in the female line.⁵⁶ The O'Donoghue of the day disputed the will, and obtained from the Herberts the estate on the west side of Caragh Lake, which extends from the head of the lake down to the mouth of the Caragh river, and was, down to the recent Land Acts, in possession of O'Donoghue of the Glen.

Thus the Muckcross estate is one of the few in Ireland which have passed from hand to hand undisturbed by forfeiture since Tudor times. Part of this Muckcross estate had belonged to the old friary, and had been given by Elizabeth to the Earl of Clancarthy; but part of it—probably the greater part—is portion of the demesne lands of Mac Carthy Mór.⁵⁷

As to what happened in the rest of the territory we know, unfortunately, very little. We know that there was no confiscation under either Elizabeth or James.⁵⁸ But whereas we find that in Carbery the land, in 1641, was divided up among innumerable small proprietors,⁵⁹ and may assume that each clansman continued to hold as a landowner, under English law, that portion of land to which he was entitled by the Irish law of Gavelkind, we find in Desmond fewer proprietors and larger estates. But, on the other hand, it is absolutely untrue to say of this territory that the land was taken from the clansmen and given to the chiefs. That was done in the adjoining barony of Duhallow, where the whole lands of the Mac Donoughs were given to Dermot

⁵⁵ But the *Life and Letters* says that the father of Charles was named Randal (p. 448). This however, contradicts Smith in his *History of Kerry*, and Burke.

⁵⁶ His aunt Elizabeth had married O'Donoghue of the Glen; another aunt, Ellen, married a Conway (Miss Hickson, *ibid.*).

⁵⁷ Muckcross was granted to Robt. Collan, in the 37th of Elizabeth. But the *Survey* states that "Erelagh Beg and Muckrush" were in Florence Mac Carthy's possession at the Earl's death. The friars remained at Muckcross until the coming of Cromwell.

⁵⁸ Except, of course, in the case of individuals who were slain in rebellion, or fled to Spain.

⁵⁹ The number of proprietors in Carbery in 1641 was about 430; in Desmond about 240, in a very much larger area. Full lists are to be found in O'Hart's *Irish Landed Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland*. I have checked these by comparison with the *Books of Survey and Distribution*.

Mac Donough Mac Carthy, and all those of the O'Keeffes to their chief, Art, or Arthur.

In Desmond, on the other hand, all the chief men of each sept appear to have become landowners, but only the chief men. All the lands of the O'Sullivans of Bere were thus divided up, in very uneven portions, among some twenty-one O'Sullivans. But all the lands of the small, dependent clans of O'Donegan and O'Linchigh were given to the ruling O'Donegan and O'Linchigh.

In Iveragh and Dunkerron many names appear as those of proprietors in 1641, which do not appear at all in the Elizabethan Survey. Chief of these is the name of O'Connell, and we also find O'Falvy, O'Lyne, and O'Neill. The greatest sub-division of lands appears among the O'Neills and the O'Brennans, who were mostly subjects of the Mac Crehans.

It is curious that such of the O'Sullivans as were landowners in 1641 nearly all owned great tracts of land. There must then have been some kind of settlement made before 1641, by which all the lesser clansmen of the O'Sullivans were deprived of their share of the clan lands, and these latter given to the chief men of every sept. Unfortunately we know nothing as to when, or how, or by whom—whether by the Government or by the natives themselves—this was done. I shall return to this point later on.

Several problems arise from the consideration of the foregoing facts. One is the nature of the claims put forward to the succession to the dignity of Mac Carthy Mór on the death of the Earl, and the absence from the competitors of those whose claims might seem to be strongest. Professor MacNeill has shown that Irish law recognised as eligible to succeed a king any of his relations in the male line within the limits of his *derb fhine*.⁶⁰

Another way of putting this is that those only were eligible for kingship, whose father, grandfather, or great-grandfather had reigned. Now, the Earl had no near male relations, consequently there was no one strictly entitled to succeed. But there were innumerable Mac Carthys, undoubted descendants of King Dermot. Of these only three serious candidates came forward, one and all obnoxious to the Government. It was the interest of the Government to stir up as many claimants as possible, with a view to an eventual compromise and breaking up of the lordship.

If the pedigree in Keating can be trusted, the true heir, according to English law, would be the head of Sliocht

⁶⁰ Mac Neill: *Celtic Ireland*, Chap. viii.

Cormac of Dunguile, the nearest agnate. If there was any flaw in his title, then the undoubted heir was the head of the Muskerry branch, a warm friend of the Government. Yet we hear of no claim from either of these families. The three serious claimants were Donnell, base son of the Earl, who, from the Irish point of view, probably had the best claim; Florence Mac Carthy, a younger son of the Mac Carthys of Carbery, and husband of the Earl's daughter, who, according to Irish ideas, had no right at all, and finally Dermod Mac Owen, Lord of Duhallow. This last was further removed from the main stock than were most of the other septs of the Mac Carthys, so his claim is particularly puzzling.

As we shall see, there is considerable doubt as to the descent of the Lords of Duhallow. But, taking Cormac Fionn as the founder of the distinct line of Mac Carthy Mór, it is possible that Dermod claimed as what Skene calls "the oldest cadet"—that is as head of the line which had earliest branched off from the parent stock. According to Skene, this branch, in course of time, as the chiefs shared their demesne lands amongst their sons, so diminishing the portion left for the ruling house, became the most powerful.⁶¹

According to the Four Masters, the line of Duhallow descended from Dermod, son of Cormac Fionn, and brother of Donnell Roe; and, according to Lainé, Dermod was the eldest son. This may be true, if he is the Dermod who was slain at Tralee in 1235. Then the Duhallow branch would really be the senior line of the descendants of Cormac Fionn.

And Skene says that in Scotland the oldest cadet appears to have enjoyed, next to the chief, the highest dignity in the clan, and the principal post of honour when called into the field. He also says that cases are found where the clan, when the true chief had fallen away in power so that he could no longer protect his followers, followed the oldest cadet as their leader or "captain."

NOTE ON MAP.

A few words seem needful as to the methods I have followed in constructing the map of the various clan territories.

Where the Elizabethan maps show that the boundary of the territory of any particular clan coincided with the boundary of a barony, there is, of course, no difficulty. Such

⁶¹ Skene: *The Highlanders of Scotland*. But his views are contested by his editor, Dr. A. Mac Bain,

is the case, for instance, with the limit between the lands of Mac Fyneen and O'Donoghue, and of O'Donoghue and O'Sullivan.

In many cases, too, we learn from Vallancey's maps that all the lands of one parish belonged to one or more persons of the same surname, and that persons of that surname held no lands outside the parish. In this way, we find that the lands of O'Donoghue of the Glen coincide with the parish of Killaha; Mac Fyneen's lands, with the parish of Kilgarvan; that the limits of the old parish of Glenbeigh (the modern parish is much more extensive) mark off the O'Sullivans, on one side from Sliocht Cormac of Dunguile, on the other from Clan Donnell Finn. As a matter of fact, the old parishes often correspond to the still older Tuath, the political unit of ancient Ireland.

Where, however, a parish was divided between two or more septs of the same clan, or between two distinct clans, I have still, in most cases, been able accurately to fix the boundaries. The Survey and maps, between them, give the names of a very large number of townlands, stating to what sept or clan they belonged. I have been able to find most of these townlands on the modern six-inch Ordnance maps; and so, when, as often happens, of two adjoining townlands, one belonged to one sept, one to another, the drawing of the boundary-line between these septs is easy. For example, all four of the names given under the heading of Sliocht Murry can at once be found on the Ordnance maps, and so we can fix accurately the limits where on the east it touched the demesne lands, on the west the lands of Sliocht Cormac of Dunguile, and on the north those of Mac Crehan and Clan Donnell Finn. In a few cases, however, my boundary-lines are more or less conjectural.

The Elizabethan map roughly indicates the respective positions of Sliocht Owen Mór of Cosh Maing and O'Donoghue Mór. But the Survey mentions no lands in the territory of the latter, and only a few in that of the former; because, no doubt, both districts, having been confiscated after the Desmond rebellion, had already been surveyed. Then, in 1641, both belonged to Sir Valentine Brown, and so Vallancey's maps afford no clue to the boundary between them. But since those of the names given in East Cosh Maing, which can be identified, are all to be found in the parish of Kilcummin, and since the church of Kilcummin is shown by the map to have been in Cosh Maing, I have taken the boundary between this parish and those of Killarney and Aghadoe as representing the boundary between Cosh Maing and O'Donoghue Mór.

In West Cosh Maing there is also a difficulty. The *Books of Survey and Distribution* tell us that practically the whole of the parishes of Molahiffe and Kilvanea (modern, Kilnare) belonged, in 1641, to Sir V. Brown,⁶² and so it would appear that all of these parishes had belonged to Cosh Maing. But the *Elizabethan Survey* assigns the townland of Ardmelod, in Kilcoleman parish, on the western edge of Magunihy, to Clan Donnell Finn. Of the other lands assigned to this sept in Magunihy, Listry, Faha, Killinromano, and Gortneelohe can be at once identified, and lie in the parish of Kilbonane. But the townlands in the parish of Kilbonane, which lie between these and Ardmelod, all, as we learn both from the *Elizabethan Survey* and the Cromwellian one, belonged to the Mac Crehans. Either Ardmelod was quite separate from the other lands of Clan Donnell Finn, or this sept must have had some of the southern townlands of Kilvanea. Since the Elizabethan map assigns a continuous, but highly irregularly-shaped, district to Clan Donnell Finn, I have, on my map, adopted the second hypothesis.

The *Elizabethan Survey* gives to Mac Fyneen five townlands north of Killarney, and west of the little River Deenagh, and two, Tullig and Ballyspillane, some distance to the east. The modern Deer-park separates these from the five western ones. I have marked it as likewise belonging to Mac Fyneen.

The Elizabethan map distinctly shows that Mac Gillycuddy's territory of Bordonine did not touch Sneem Harbour. In 1641 the intervening land—Deriganevorige—belonged to Sir Geoffrey Galway. But this, however, seems very like the name Derrinivurrig, which latter townland Mac Gillycuddy himself, in one of the documents given in the Mac Gillycuddy Papers, names as paying him chief rent. Therefore, I have included it in Mac Gillycuddy's territories.

In one place I have ventured to differ much more widely from the Elizabethan maps. According to the map of Dunkerron, all Glencar, with one small exception, and both sides of Caragh Lake, to a point about half-way down its length, belonged to the earl's demesne, and were, at the date of the return, in possession of the countess. The exception was that a piece of O'Sullivan territory is marked as extending from Windy Gap to about the present Blackstones Bridge.

But in the text of the Survey, among the score or so of names of lands in possession of the countess, I can find none corresponding to any name in Glencar, and the Survey itself distinctly assigns to O'Sullivan Mór "the two quarters

⁶² The exception was Cluonemeolane,

of Glencar." Moreover, the will of Donnell O'Sullivan Mór, quoted in the notes to the *History of Kerry*, so often before referred to (p. 263, *Journal of Cork Historical Society*, 1898), leaves his wife, together with other lands, certain "glinds and pastures" which lie in Glencar; and from the *Books of Survey and Distribution* it is certain that in 1641 the greater part of the valley belonged either to Donnell's widow or to various O'Sullivans and O'Lynes, and none to Mac Carthy Mór of Pallis.

On the other hand, Vallancey's maps, and those in Petty's *Atlas of Ireland*, exclude from Dunkerron, and assign to the West Fractions of Magunihy a very irregularly-shaped piece of land between Blackstones Bridge and the mountains dividing Glencar from Glenbeigh, and taking in all the western side of Caragh Lake.

We find from the *Books of Survey and Distribution* that in 1641 the southern part of this, the lands of Drumbreene, Killeely, and Bunglassy, belonged to Murtagh (possibly Murragh: the writing is not clear) Mc Owen Ferris; and that adjoining his property on the north, and extending along the whole west of Caragh Lake, and the Lower Caragh River, lay various townlands belonging to Daniel Mac Carthy Mór.

I have no idea as to who this Murtagh Mc Owen Ferris was, except that one is inclined to identify him with the Murriagh Mc Owen Ferris, who held the lands of Sliocht Murry, and the Murrough Mc Owen Ferris, who held the eastern townlands of Sliocht Cormac of Dungle's territory north of the Laune. The lands he owned in Glencar can be identified;⁶³ and the Glencar portion of the West Fractions would seem to correspond with the valley of the Meelagh, which runs into the Caragh, close to Blackstones Bridge. And this seems to be precisely the bit marked on the Elizabethan map as belonging to the O'Sullivans. I am inclined to think that the maker of this map transposed the colours and lettering. I have, therefore, marked the greater part of Glencar as belonging to O'Sullivan Mór, and the valley of the Meelagh as demesne land.

As to the western shores of Caragh Lake, I have followed the Elizabethan map in assigning the southern portion to the demesne, and the northern to Sliocht Cormac of Dungle. It is true that in 1641 all this district belonged to Mac Carthy Mór. But it would seem that Sliocht Cormac of Dungle had in some way come to grief between the date of the

⁶³ Drombrane Lake marks the position of Drumbreene. Killeely was probably between this and Bunglasha, and may be the modern Keel.

Elizabethan Survey and 1641, for at this latter date the Lord of Kerry held some of their Laune territory. Murrough Mc Owen Ferris also had some, and of their Caragh territory the Lord of Kerry held nearly all of the portion east of the lower Caragh (the remainder belonged to Daniel Mac Oge Carthy). Possibly, then, Mac Carthy Mór had, subsequent to the date of the Survey, acquired the western townlands formerly belonging to this sept.

Finally, I have not been able to distinguish the land belonging to the priory of Ballinskelligs from the demesne land between Lough Currane and the sea; nor have I, except in the case of Derrynane, attempted to show any other church land. This is, however, of small consequence, as the possessions of the church in Desmond seem to have been but small. Neither have I been able to distinguish the boundaries between the lands of Sliocht Nedeén, Clan Teig Kittagh, and Clan Dermond, in the modern parish of Kenmare.

NOTE ON THE LIMITS OF IVERAGH AND DUNKERRON.

The modern boundaries of these baronies do not correspond to the Elizabethan ones. At the date of the Survey, Iveragh was bounded on the coast of Dingle Bay by Drung Hill, and the boundary ran inland along the mountain ridge separating Glenbeigh and Glencar from the valleys of the Fertá and the Inny. These two valleys, with the watershed of the Cummeragh, made up Iveragh.

At the date of the *Down Survey*, the parish of Glenbeigh had been taken from Dunkerron and added to Iveragh. This parish was not as extensive then as at present, for it was bounded by the mountains separating Glenbeigh from Glencar, and by the small stream which runs a little to the east of the Glenbeigh Hotel. But, on the other hand, the district to the south of Lough Currane, including Hog's Head, had, at the time of the *Down Survey*, been transferred from Iveragh to Dunkerron. At present this lake and the Waterville River form the boundary between the two baronies.

Since then Iveragh has been farther extended, so as to take in the former West Fractions of Magunihy, round Caragh Lake, and a portion of Glencar. Iveragh and Dunkerron are now nearly equal in extent, and in a great measure have no natural mountain boundaries between them. Of the former East Fractions of Magunihy, one detached bit has been added to Duhallow, another, nearly detached, to Muskerry.

4.—OF DUHALLOW.

IN the foregoing pages I have dealt with twelve of the fourteen "countries" which, according to Herbert, were subject to Mac Carthy Mór. There still remain two other territories, those of Duhallow and Muskerry, corresponding pretty closely with the present County Cork Baronies so named.

In these territories we find a somewhat different state of affairs from that existing in Desmond proper. In each the subject clans did not pay allegiance direct to the overlord; they were subject to the immediate rule of a chief of the race of Clan Carthy, who in turn was subject to Mac Carthy Mór. In each, also, Mac Carthy Mór's rights were small. Besides "rising out" and the giving of the rod, he had the "finding" of twenty-seven gallowglasses in Duhallow, and of thirty in Muskerry.¹ He had also the castle and lands of Mashanaglass in the latter, and the lands of Carrow Cormac in the former territory. Herbert says that he had also a right to certain days' entertainment in the year. From the Survey we learn that for Duhallow this amounted to four sorrens in the year; but that the gentry and freeholders, being unwilling that the Earl should come among them, had compounded this for an annual payment of £26 13s. 4d. assessed evenly on each of the four clans which held the territory. No dues from Muskerry are mentioned in the Survey, probably because in Elizabeth's day the Lords of Muskerry claimed to depend directly on the Crown.²

Duhallow, on the other hand, was always counted as part of the Earl's dominions, and only came directly under the Crown at his death. It seems to have been looked on as part of Desmond, properly so-called; and the clans which inhabited it always acknowledged their subjection. They formed part of the forces with which the Earl of Clancarthy attacked the English in 1568-69; and it was by laying waste

¹ Herbert. A portion of Duhallow was counted as part of the "East Fractions" of Kerry down to the nineteenth century. I take this to have been originally Mac Carthy Mór's demesne.

² Herbert. The Lords of Muskerry claimed that they had received from the Crown a charter for their lands. Surrey, writing in 1521 to Wolsey, says that the then Lord, Cormac Oge, showed him a charter granted to his grandfather by the King's noble progenitors (*State Papers*, Hy. VIII, Vol. ii, part 3, p. 64). It is not clear whether this was a grant of lands, or merely one of naturalisation as a subject.

their country that Sir Henry Sidney reduced the Earl and his Kerry followers to submission.³

The name in Irish was Duthaidhe Ealla, the name being derived from the river Ealla—Spencer's "strong Allo tumbling from Slieve Lougher steep," which the modern Ordnance maps spell Allow, and from which the town of Mallow, former Moyallo, also takes its name. This river runs through the country from north to south, and joins the Blackwater at Banteer.

Duhallow forms the north-west angle of Co. Cork. North and west it is bounded by Kerry and Limerick. To the south the Blackwater forms the boundary for a short distance; but, from Millstreet east, Duhallow reaches as far as the hills that separate the tributaries of the Lee from those of the Blackwater. Its south-eastern limit is marked by the Clydagh, where two streams converge at Old Dromore. From this point to Mallow the Clydagh is the boundary, but from Mallow to the border of Limerick there is no natural frontier; and the limits of Mac Carthy Mór's power in this direction were marked out by a line of castles—Mallow, Ballyclough, Liscarroll, Castle Ishin, and others, built by the Barrys and the Fitzgeralds. Besides the ruling clan—a branch of the Mac Carthys knowns as the Mac Donoughs—Duhallow contained three minor clans. The north-west corner, from Newmarket to the borders of Limerick and Kerry, was held by the Mac Auliffes, who owned the castles of Castle Mac Auliffe⁴ and Carrigacushin. South of these, along the border of Kerry, were the lands of the O'Keeffes. The source of the Blackwater was in their country, and they ran along the river east to the castle of Dromagh, near Kanturk, having Muskerry as their southern boundary. Three of their castles are given by Smith—Dromagh, Dromsicane, and Du Aragil.⁵

The *Down Survey*, and the *Books of Survey and Distribution* show that their lands were in two detached portions, the south-eastern part, in the parish of Dromtariff, being separated from the rest by lands belonging to Mac Donough. The O'Callaghans held the south-eastern angle of the barony, their territory running from close to Mallow up the fertile valley of the Blackwater, on both sides of the river, to beyond Mount Hilary. It included, as the *Down Survey*

³ *Car. Cal.*, 1583, p. 347.

⁴ Near Newmarket: Carrigacushin seems to be the Carrigg Cashell of the Inquisitions. There was also a castle in what is now the demesne of Newmarket House.

⁵ But Inquisitions and the Cromwellian Surveys gives Dromsicane to Mac Donough.

shows, the present parishes of Kilshannig and Clonmeen, south of the Blackwater, and to the north of the river as much of Ballyclough as is in Duhallow, and the south of the present parish of Castle Magner,⁶ as well as the modern Roskeen, and a small part of the present Dromtariff, as far as the river Allo.

There were at least two castles in this district, Clonmeen and Dromaneen, considerable ruins of which remain, or at least did so some years ago.⁷

The O'Callaghans, O'Keeffes, and Mac Auliffes are all said to be of Eoghanacht race, the last being derived by some from the Tadhg Mac Carthy, set up as King of Desmond by Torlough O'Connor in 1118; by others from Tadhg, son of Carthagh, and uncle of the foregoing.

The history of Duhallow is obscure; and it is not clear whether the clans holding it in Elizabethan times had been there from of old, or had been driven there after the Anglo-Norman invasion.

O'Huidhrin contradicts himself on this point; and apparently in one place, where he seems to place the O'Callaghans in Kinelea, his text is corrupt. The editor throws no light on the question, merely saying that O'Keeffe before the Anglo-Norman invasion was seated in the Barony of Fermoy; and ignoring a later statement of his author which places him in Duhallow.⁸ Nor is it clear at what period the branch of the Mac Carthy house known as Mac Donough Mac Carthy established themselves as overlords.

Duhallow must have been included in the grant of the Kingdom of Cork to De Cogan and Fitz Stephen; but it does not appear that any permanent settlement was effected by the Anglo-Normans. It is curious that in that age of legal chicanery, the early seventeenth century, no claim was set up to the ownership of Duhallow by the Crown, or by any one else; and that the title of the actual occupiers does not seem to have been questioned.⁹ In the

⁶ The present division into parishes does not always correspond to the older one. The present Roskeen was part of Clonmeen in the seventeenth century.

The Clydagh formed the eastern boundary south of the Blackwater. North of that river a little rivulet flowing into the main river about a mile west of the railway viaduct is the division between the "Manor of Mallow" and the O'Callaghan lands.

⁷ There seem also to have been smaller castles, according to the Inquisitions and to the modern Ordnance maps.

⁸ O'Huidhrin carefully ignores the actual distribution of his day. His aim is to show the geography as it was before the invasion.

⁹ The Inquisition on Mac Donough in 1617 says that the said

“Case de Tanistry” the point as to whether the Crown might not claim in virtue of the “Conquest” under Henry II was set aside on the ground that such a claim had never been made where the Irish at the first conquest had been allowed to hold their lands undisturbed. This is a rather surprising statement; and in later days, especially under Charles I, could hardly have been put forward. But this case was argued in the early days of James I; and the O’Callaghan title seems to have been taken for granted.

The territory of the O’Callaghans was small, and the clan played no very important part in Tudor times. But incidents in their history led to legal proceedings which affected the country as a whole, and which throw light on the steps by which English laws as to property and descent were substituted for Irish ones.

It was as a result of litigation between members of this clan that the judges in the days of James I condemned the Irish “custom” of Tanistry; and it was the action of the the Lord of Pobul I Callaghan in 1594 that led to an enquiry into the precise rights of chief and clansmen with regard to land, the finding in which has often been cited by students of Irish land tenures.

Mr. H. Webb Gillman, in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* for 1897 has given a lucid explanation of the events leading up to this enquiry, founding his statements very largely on the Fiants and Inquisitions,¹⁰ and showing what a mine of information is to be found in these too often neglected documents.

The Case of Tanistry has never, as far as I know, been adequately dealt with.

I shall endeavour to make a single intelligible story out of the whole series of transactions.

In 1577, or 1578 “New Style,” died Donough, Lord of Pobul I Callaghan. He was the eldest of seven brothers, and had quietly succeeded his father and predecessor in the lordship, Teige Roe, who in turn had quietly succeeded his father and predecessor.¹¹ Donough had, as *nationis suae*

premises are houlden and descended by the Course of Common Law to Dermod from his father Owen who had held of the late Queen’s Majesty by what tenure the jurors know not.

In 1609 the lands of the O’Callaghans are said to be held of the Queen in capite, but by what services they know not.

¹⁰ In spite of his care Mr. Gillman has been misled more than once by mistranslations or other errors in the printed documents on which he relies; and he does not seem to have used the *Report on Le Case de Tanistry*, or an Inquisition taken in 1609 which seems to have some connection with that Case.

¹¹ The Inquisition of 1609 says that Teige Roe had died seventy-

primus, joined in 1543 with other Munster chiefs in acknowledging Henry VIII as their natural and liege lord and supreme head of the Church.

According to *Le Case de Tanistry*, Donough's son, Conogher, and Conogher's son, Teige, had predeceased him; and after their decease Donogh *per feoffement, solonque le course del Common Ley executata estate* to his great-grandson, Donough *le puisné*, son of Teige and to the heirs male of his body, remainder to the right heirs of the feoffor.¹²

The young Donough was then about twelve years old.¹³

As a matter of fact, this statement is not correct. The true facts are to be found in an Inquisition dated 1609.

Donatus, *alias* Donough, on September 22nd, 1574, enfeoffed, not his great-grandson, Donough *le puisné*, but his grandson, Callaghan, to hold to the said Callaghan for life, remainder to Donat, or Donough, nephew of Callaghan, for life, remainder to the heirs male of Callaghan, remainder to the heirs male of Donough, remainder to the right heirs of Donat, the feoffor, for ever. This deed is calendared in Morrin, under the year 1594-96, but without distinguishing that there were two distinct Donoughs.¹⁴

Further confusion has been caused by the fact that in the Fiants Elizabeth there is calendared (3407) a grant of wardship, dated August 12th, 1578, of the younger Donough, who is described in it as *grandson* and heir of Kellaghan O'Kellaghan, late chief of his nation in County Cork. Here grandson is a mistranslation of *nepos*, for the Inquisition of 1609 plainly states that Donough was son of Teige, elder brother of Callaghan, and refers to the latter as his *avunculus*.¹⁵

So the pedigree as set out in the *Report of the Case de Tanistry* is correct, except that the existence of Callaghan

two years before, and that his father was Conogher Reinagh. The *Four Masters* say that Teige Roe was son of Eoghan son of Cahir.

Mr. Gillman, misled by an entry in the *Four Masters*, states that Teige Roe had been killed in battle in 1568, and makes him son of the Donough who submitted to Henry VIII. But the Donough who died in 1577 was of "extreme old age" in 1575, according to Sir Hy. Sidney.

¹² Donough would seem to have been from the point of view of English law the heir male of the founder of the clan. He must either have obtained a "grant of Englishry" or have counted that the Government's desire to do away with Irish customs would lead to this transaction being upheld by the Courts.

¹³ Inq. of 1609.

¹⁴ P. 393.

¹⁵ This has misled Mr. Gillman. He gives Callaghan a son Teige, father of Donough the younger. But the Inquisition says that Callaghan died without heirs of his body.

is altogether ignored. The reason for this is to be found in the Inquisition of 1609, namely, that Callaghan died without any heirs of his body.

The *Four Masters* say that on Donough's death, Callaghan, son of Conogher, son of Donough, son of Teige Roe, was nominated O'Callaghan, but that he was drowned in the Blackwater before he had spent an entire year in the enjoyment of his patrimony.

On the death of Callaghan, according to the *Four Masters*, on the death of Donough, according to the Case, a certain Conogher of the Rock, "the son of the Prior O'Callaghan,"¹⁶ became lord, succeeding after the manner of Tanistry.¹⁷ Those who pleaded in favour of this mode of succession as a reasonable and certain custom, declared that the choice fell on the eldest and worthiest. The opponents said that in practice the question who was the worthiest was settled by the strong hand. Now, Conogher of the Rock was son of Dermod, fourth of the seven sons of Teige Roe. There were still alive other descendants of the eldest brother, Donough; and the third brother, Cahir, had left at least three active and warlike sons.¹⁸ Conogher, too, seems to have had at least one elder brother alive. He must, therefore, have imposed himself, or been chosen, as the worthiest. The fact that during his long rule of thirty-four years he brought his people and his country safely through all the perils of that troublous time, shows that he might well claim such a title.

In 1593 Conogher determined to take advantage of the Act of Elizabeth empowering the Lords of Irish countries to surrender their lands and to obtain from the Crown a

¹⁶ The Priory of Ballybeg, near Buttevant, had often been held by a cadet of the O'Callaghan family. After the suppression Dermod and two of his sons after him are called "priors." Evidently they had got hold of the revenues.

¹⁷ The fact that Donough's son and grandson had predeceased him, the latter leaving a young son behind him, bears out Sir Henry Sidney's statement that in 1775 O'Callaghan was prevented by extreme age from visiting him in Cork. Unfortunately he says O'Callaghan sent his son and heir. Yet Conogher, son of Donough, seems to have been dead in 1774. How hard it is to get at facts!

¹⁸ Mr. Gillman, in the article mentioned, gives a full pedigree, with copious references. He mentions at least twenty-two great-grandsons of Teige Roe.

The Inq. of 1609 says that when Conogher of the Rock became chief there were others of his nation *maiores natu*, viz., Callaghan Mac Teig, Donough Mac Cahir and Cahir Oge, and that Teige Mac Cahir was alive when Conogher made his surrender. The last-named three were sons of the third of the seven brothers, the first-named was apparently son of the second of the seven, though Mr. Gillman says he had no offspring.

title valid by English law.¹⁹ Accordingly he petitioned for leave to surrender and obtain a regrant. By this time the Crown, as I show in the *Policy of Surrender and Regrant*, had become alive to the fact that the chiefs in many cases took advantage of the Act to secure, as their own, lands which really belonged to the septs of free land-owning clansmen. Therefore, before complying with Conogher's request, Sir Thomas Norris, Vice-President of Munster, with the Chief Justice of the Province, and the Second Justice, proceeded to Mallow, where an Inquisition was taken before them in October, 1594.²⁰

The finding was that Conogher O'Callaghan was seized of various lands set out in the Inquisition, in his demesne as Lord and Chieftain of Poble Callaghan, by the Irish custom there time out of mind used.

It went on: "That as O'Callaghan is Lord of the country, so there is a tanist by the custom of the country, and that tanist is now Teige O'Callaghan, and he is seized by the custom" of certain lands recited. "The custom is that every kinsman of O'Callaghan is to have a certain parcel of land to live upon, and yet no estate passeth thereby; but the Lord, who is now Conogher O'Callaghan, like his predecessors before, viz., O'Callaghan for the time being, time out of mind, may remove him to other lands, according to the custom." Then they name Callaghane M'Dermody, Irrelagh O'Callaghan, Teige M'Cahirr, Callaghan M'Owen and Donogho M'Thomas as being each in possession of certain lands named. Katherine Roche²¹ had an estate during her life in a ploughland, by grant of O'Callaghan, and so the reversion is in O'Callaghan that now is. Then three other persons are named as holding a ploughland and a half "at the yearly rent of thirteen shillings and four pence and other duties, according to the country custom claimed by O'Callaghan, but not proved before us."

Then the jurors say that Dermod Mc Teige and others hold from O'Callaghan, by the yearly rent of four shillings and four "white groats," the town and lands of Kilechrany, containing one ploughland.

¹⁹ Twelfth of Elizabeth, Chap. IV.

²⁰ A series of documents relating to this surrender are given in Morrin, *Cal. of the Patent Rolls*, Eliz. But his transcripts are not always to be relied on.

The Fiant also contain Conogher's surrender (5903) and the regrant (5908).

The jurors were to be twelve men, "most Englishmen, thought indifferent between him and his adversaries, and no free-holders." Morrin, p. 260.

²¹ Widow of Conogher, son of Donough the elder.

Finally the jury found that six quarters named are chargeable with a yearly rent of sixty cows to Mac Donough, or in lieu of every of them 6/8; and that one of the aforesaid quarters is chargeable with 14/- to Mac Donough over and besides.²²

The importance of this verdict of the jurors was that it seemed to lay down that the true owner of the clan lands was the Lord, and that the rest of the clansmen had only an uncertain and transitory possession, and had no estate which could be recognised by English law.²³ This was exactly the argument put forward some years later by Sir John Davies in order to make good the King's title to County Cavan at the time of the Plantation of Ulster.

The finding given above has often been quoted as showing the working of the Gaelic system of land tenure. It is, however, to be received with a certain amount of caution. We have seen in the account of Bere and Bantry sent in during the O'Sullivan controversy, that, in that district at least, there was a sharp distinction between the lands set apart as demesne for the lord and his sept, and the lands held by septs more distantly related to the ruling house.²⁴ It was only within the limits of the former that the Lord had power to remove the occupiers from place, and to alter the size of their holdings; and then only as the numbers of the sept increased or decreased.

And every member of the sept, as is plain from other evidence, knew exactly what his share of the sept land should be.

It is possible that the finding refers only to the chief's own immediate relatives; in fact, of the six first mentioned by name, three were brothers, two first cousins, and another

²² Elsewhere we find that the quarter in question, Killecaslane (mod. Kilcaskane), was chargeable with 13s. 4d. *i.e.* a mark. An Inq. of 1617 says that Owen Mac Donough Mac Carthy, temp. Elizabeth, had certain lands given him by Donough O'Callaghan to be redeemed whenever O'Callaghan should enter into security to pay this chief rent.

²³ The Inquisition of 1609 mentions rents or services from only three denominations of land; and has a general reference to "all other chief rents and services of O'Callaghan's country."

From BallymcMorroghe, 3 plough lands, he had 40s., as well as certain measures of wheat, butter, oats, four sheep from every plough, and three days' work a year from every ploughman.

From Skarrough, 3 plough lands, he had 44s. a year.

From Gortencowley, 1½ plough lands, he had £3 a year.

The Inquisition of 1594 mentions Conogher Genkagh, Dermot Bane and Shane Mc Teige as holding this and other denominations, 1½ plough lands.

²⁴ See *Cal. State Papers*, 1592, pp. 467, 469, 498-500, for other evidence.

a first cousin once removed of Conogher's. There may have been other septs of O'Callaghans more remote from the ruling house, and not referred to in the finding.²⁵ From the *Down Survey* it appears that there was also one small subject clan, the O'Mullanes, at least a certain John O'Mullane forfeited lands in the Parish of Kilshannig in 1641.

In spite of the finding of the commissioners, Conogher does not appear to have been treated as sole owner of the clan territory.²⁶ Various later Inquisitions show us several O'Callaghans holding of the Crown; and in 1641 there were some eight or ten separate landowners in Pobul I Callaghan.

It would seem, however, that here, as in Desmond, the inferior clansmen lost their lands, as most of those who are mentioned as landowners appear to have been descendants of Teige Roe.²⁷

On December 2nd, 1595, Conogher made a surrender of a long list of lands, all named, and five days after he received a regrant of what he had surrendered, with the proviso, "he shall possess those lands according to the right and title found by a certain inquisition taken . . . at Moallo."²⁸

The Inquisition makes no mention of the posterity of Donough, the Lord who had died in 1577, though several of them were alive. I return now to this branch, and come to the "Case de Tanistry" in which they were concerned.

We have seen that, as the facts are set out in the Case, Donough, his son and grandson having pre-deceased him, had

²⁵ Or possibly the references towards the end of the Inquisition to persons who are not said to be removable, and who held at fixed rents and other duties not proved, may be to persons of this class. One of these is Donough Mac Thomas, who held Ballymacmorroghe, 3 plough lands, out of which was due a seignory, viz., 40s., and other duties and customs, and who is said by Mr. Gillman to have been first cousin once removed.

²⁶ Yet the surrender made by Callaghan appears to include the whole territory; he names over fifty plough lands and no mention is made of chief rents, duties, etc., from any free-holders. Some are, however, given in the Inquisition of 1609, as I have said before, and they are also mentioned in the surrenders of Conogher and Cahir in 1610.

²⁷ In 1641 we find Donough O'Callaghan holding land in all five parishes, which fell wholly or in part within the bounds of the O'Callaghan territory. Then there were Callaghan O'Callaghan, Owen O'Callaghan (mentioned in two parishes), Dermot O'Callaghan (ditto), Cahir O'Callaghan, Teige Roe O'Callaghan, Loughlen O'Callaghan, John O'Mullane, and Wm. Lombard.

²⁸ Morrin, p. 336. In the *Calendar of the Fiants*, this runs "provided that the grant shall not prejudice the rights of other persons as found by an Inquisition taken at Moallo," Oct., 1594.

settled his estate on his great-grandson, Donough le Puisné, but that Conogher of the Rock; ignoring this arrangement, had come in by Tanistry, and obtained the Lordship, and the lands attached to it. The Case then sets out that Donough the younger died young and unmarried, and that then his estate passed to his aunt Eleanor, his father's sister, who was married to Art O'Keeffe. In due course she died,²⁹ and the estate descended to her son, Manus O'Keeffe.

All this completely ignores the existence of Callaghan, son of Conogher, son of Donough, Lord, for a short time, in succession to his grandfather. But we get what seems to be an accurate account in an Inquisition taken in 1609.

This begins by stating that Teige Roe was seized *de feodo per linealem discentionem a patre suo Conogher Reinagh* of the Lordship and country of Pobble Callaghan. His son, Donatus (Donough) succeeded, and on September 22nd, 1574, enfeoffed a certain Calvacium, *alias* Callaghan O'Callaghan, in all his lands for life, with various remainders which are set out, and which I have already given.

Donough died February 1st, 1577 (probably 1578 new style), and Callaghan died on June 6th, 1578, without any heirs of his body. The Donough first named in remainder was nephew to Callaghan, being son and heir of Teige (Tadeus), elder brother of the said Callaghan. It is clear, therefore, that Mr. Gillman is mistaken in his pedigree when he makes Teige to be son of Callaghan. The reason is clear: he takes the deed as calendared in Morrin, which translates *nepos* as grandson. But the Inquisition makes it clear that *nepos* is used for nephew, for it distinctly says that Teige was elder brother of Callaghan, and later on calls Callaghan *avunculus* of the young Donough. So that the statement in the Case that Donough was son of Teige, son of Conogher, is true. But the Case errs in saying that Donough the elder had directly settled his estate on the younger Donough. What he had done was that, his son Conogher, and Conogher's eldest son Teige being dead, he had settled the property for life on his surviving grandson, Callaghan, with remainder for life to Callaghan's nephew, Donough, and then various remainders which I have set out before.

This evidently is an attempt to reconcile Irish and English ideas as to succession.

Callaghan, being of full age, was to be preferred before the minor Donough. But Callaghan was to be succeeded, not by his own sons, but by his nephew, and after the

²⁹ In 1598. Her eldest son, Daniel, died without heirs of his body (Inq. 1609). According to this Inquisition Eleanor died before Daniel.

nephew's death the Lordship was to revert to Callaghan's heirs male, and only failing them, to those of Donough. This is more or less in accordance with Irish ideas. But the remainder to the "right heirs" of Donough, whether of the elder or the younger, was totally at variance with all Irish ideas; and led, as we shall see, to future complications.

This settlement shows a curious parallel with the will of Sir Cormac Mac Teige of Muskerry.

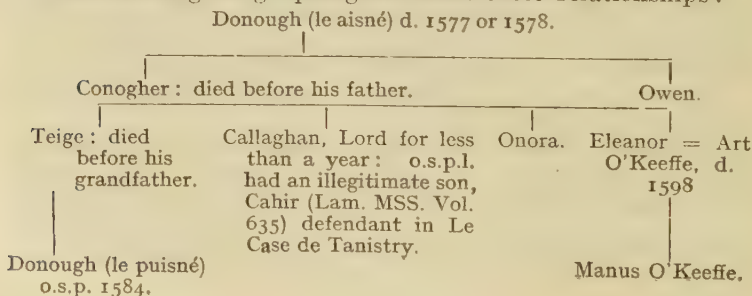
He had obtained from the Crown a grant to himself, and the uses of his will; and he used this power to bequeath the Lordship of Muskerry "for conscience sake" first to his brother and tanist, Callaghan, then to his nephews, sons of his elder brother and predecessor, in each case for life, and then only was it to go to his own son and heir.

Callaghan, as we have seen, only held the Lordship for a few months. He died without heirs of his body, his heir by English law, apart from any settlement, being his nephew, Donough, then a boy of twelve. So that there was no need to bring Callaghan into the preliminary statement with which the *Report on the Case of Tanistry* opens.

There is in the *Calendar of the Fiants* a grant dated August 12th, 1578, of the wardship and marriage of the young Donough to John, son of Viscount Roche, his kinsman. The Calendar describes him as grandson and heir of Callaghan O'Callaghan, late chief of his nation in County Cork—grandson here being evidently a mistranslation of *nepos*. The guardian was to pay £10 rent to the Crown during the boy's minority; but was to retain £5 for maintenance of the ward.

The young Donough died in 1584; and his heirs were his two aunts, Onora and Elenora, daughters of Conogher. Onora died in 1586 without offspring, and so is not mentioned in the Report of the Case. Elenora then became sole heir, and her interest passed on her death to her eldest surviving son, Manus O'Keeffe.

The following rough pedigree shows these relationships:—



That the Lordship of an Irish clan, with the lands attached to it, should pass through the female line to a member of another sept was an anomaly too great for seventeenth century Ireland.³⁰ This probably explains why Manus O'Keeffe made over his interest in the O'Callaghan lands to a member of that clan who might be able to enforce what, we must remember, had been so far only a theoretical claim, the Lordship, etc., being all this time in possession of Conogher of the Rock.

We find a precisely similar case in the history of the O'Carrolls of Ely. There the daughter of Sir William O'Carroll, heiress by English law, made over her rights to her base brother, who had no claim under that law, but who, from the Irish point of view, was a fit aspirant for the Lordship.

Manus O'Keeffe, according to the *Report of Le Case de Tanistry*, enfeoffed with all his estate in O'Callaghan's country a certain Cahir O'Callaghan.

In the meantime, Conogher of the Rock was in possession of what he had obtained by the surrender and regrant of 1595. He enfeoffed one Fagan with the castle of Dromaneen and certain lands, and Fagan enfeoffed a certain Brian Mac Owen O'Callaghan who made a lease of the premises to Murrough Mac Brian, apparently his son.

Now Cahir enters, and ejects Murrough, who brings an action to recover before the Court of King's Bench in Dublin.

The report does not enlighten us as to the identity of the litigants. But, from other sources Cahir can be identified with Cahir "modder," *i.e.*, the surly (modartha) of Dromaneen, gent., who, according to the Fiants, obtained a pardon in 1600-1, and again in 1602-3.³¹ According to a Lambeth pedigree, he was an illegitimate son of Callaghan Mac Conogher, Lord in 1578. From the Irish point of view he would have been an eligible candidate for the lordship, hence, no doubt, Manus had handed over to him his claim; we are not told for what consideration, if any.

As to Brian, Mr. Gillman, tracing his descent through the Fiants, says he was son of Owen, son of Teige, son of Owen, second son of Donough, the lord who had died in 1577. Brian, then, represented Donough in the male legitimate

³⁰ Yet this case clearly shows how the English law worked towards consolidating a country. Eleanor's husband was chief of the O'Keeffes. By English or French law her son would have united the two clans under one rule. In this way the various warring clans might have attained to unity.

³¹ *Fiants*, 6481, and 6762.

line; and so, from the Irish point of view, might be looked on as also a candidate for the Lordship.³²

We are not told whether the various transactions, beginning with Conogher's enfeoffment of Fagan, were genuine transfers of land, or whether they were only legal fictions intended to bring the whole case before the courts.

At any rate, the issue was now joined, the son of Brian, representative of Donough in the lawful male line, as plaintiff, bringing forward Conogher's title founded on the grant of 1595; and Cahir, descended equally from Donough, though not by legitimate descent, coming forward as representing the title founded on the settlement made by Donough in 1574.

It appears to have been laid down that the point for decision was whether Conogher of the Rock had had any estate which he could surrender to the Crown. If he had not, the grant of Elizabeth, based on this surrender, was of no effect. This point was argued at length before the Court. Sir John Davies sets out the pleadings at length, in the barbarous jargon, the so-called Law French, of the period.³³

On the one side it was argued that succession by Tanistry was a reasonable and certain custom, and so fit to be recognised by law: on the other, that it was unreasonable and uncertain, and therefore void.

During the hearing of the case the litigants came to a compromise; and, with the assent of the Court, divided the lands. But the Court proceeded to give a judgment on the point raised. The decision was *Et primermt fuit resolve que cẽ Custome fuit unreasonable, et void ab initio; secondement fuit resolve, que cest Custome fuit voyd pur le Incertainty*. Reasons were given—such as that it could not be reduced to certainty by any trial or proof, for the dignity of a man lieth in the opinion of the multitude, which is the most uncertain thing in the world.

And the estate was uncertain, for the tanist does not take as heir, the tanist hath not an estate of inheritance in his natural capacity, because the oldest and most worthy comes in by election, and not as heir, and the tanist hath no inheritance by succession in a politic capacity, because he is not incorporate by the common law as a person, and if he

³² It is true that being great-great-grandson of a ruling chief, he was outside the regular aspirants to the succession. These included the sons, grandsons, or great-grandsons of a reigning chief.

³³ *Hillar' 5 Jacobi. En Bank le Roy: Collect et digest, per Sir John Davies.*

hath only an estate for life it cannot descend, and so he hath no estate whereof the law can take notice.

This decision of the judges has often been denounced as a fatal blow struck at the old Gaelic system. But it has been given an importance which it does not deserve. Succession by Tanistry had been dying a natural death, as, one by one, the Gaelic Lords surrendered their lands, and received them back to hold according to the Common Law. With the peace that followed on the accession of James I, any advantages possessed by Tanistry as a mode of succession vanished. In the sixteenth century, at least, its disadvantages—constant internecine strife, and family murders—are more prominent than its benefits. There was always a Queen's O'Reilly, or a Queen's O'Neill, with a body of followers ready to back him up. The history of the Barretts of County Cork, and of the O'Carrolls of Ely, will show what the succession of the "eldest and worthiest" meant in practice.

But what the decision really did was to rip up the Act, Twelfth of Elizabeth. The object of that Act was to give the actual existing Lords of Countries, who had no title valid by English law, an opportunity of getting such a title. The Act dealt with the man in possession. There was, of course, a saving of the rights of all persons who, by English law, had rights. But the decision of the judges does not seem to have been based on that saving. It declared that succession by Tanistry was void in itself, and that Conogher therefore had had no title which he could surrender, and that the Queen's grant to him was void.

This decision must have rendered insecure the tenure of many lords of countries who held by grants based on a surrender by and a regrant to the actual *de facto* lord, who may have come in by election or the strong hand. That was its sole effect. As to the mass of landowners, the decision did not affect them one way or the other.

The Report does not make it clear what lands were divided as a result of the compromise between the litigants.³⁴ Cahir, however, remained at Dromaneen, which, according to the Inquisition of 1609, he had entered into about nine years past. Probably in the troublous times about 1600 he had seized the castle, and had maintained himself there

³⁴ From *Cal. Patent Rolls*, Jas. I, p. 200, we get details of a surrender in 1610 by Conor O'Call. of Clonmeen, and Cahir of Dromaneen, which shows that Cahir had eleven plough lands in demesne, and rents and services out of at least seven more.

Conogher had a much larger estate in demesne, but rents and services are mentioned only from Ballymacmoroghau, Rathbegg, and Rathmore.

with the help of a section of the clan. Conogher, in his later days, lived at Clonmeen; and died there in 1612. His eldest son, Callaghan, succeeded, and died in 1631, having much encumbered his estates, as appears from the inquisition taken on his death.³⁵ This inquisition tells us that Cahir was still alive, and claimed all and singular the premises, *i.e.*, O'Callaghan's country, as his inheritance. Callaghan left an only daughter and heir, Elena, aged thirteen, and married to Donough, son and heir-apparent to Cahir. Thus the two rival claims were, by English law, merged in one; though Callaghan's next brother claimed the inheritance as his. Here we find a last survival of Irish law, under which a woman could not inherit; while by English law the niece's claim was preferred before that of an uncle.

Donough, son of Cahir, now Lord of O'Callaghan's country, played a prominent part in the war of 1641-1652. His property was duly confiscated under Cromwell, and he was transplanted into Clare. As a "Nominee," he recovered some of his property, about 2,000 acres, at the Restoration; but the greater part was never restored to him. In a petition to the Court of Claims in 1700, it is stated that Lord Clare, in 1666, had let certain lands on lease for a thousand years, to this Donough at a pepper corn rent, with a proviso that when the said Donough shall be restored to Clonmeen, Dromaneen, and the rest of his estate in Pubble O'Callaghan, then the said lease shall be void.³⁶ No full restoration ever took place, and the O'Callaghans remained as landed gentry in Clare to our own day.

The centre of Duhallow, and the eastern border from Ballyclough to the County Limerick, belonged to Mac Donough Mac Carthy. His chief house was at Kanturk, and it would seem from a grant of James I, that he also owned Loghort and Castle Cor, close to the eastern boundary of the barony.³⁷ Smith, however, says that Castle Cor was a castle of the Barrys, and from old maps it would appear that the castle and demesne were counted as a detached part of Orrery—a barony of the Barrys. Loghort, too, is said to have been built by King John. We can, perhaps, reconcile the two statements. In Plantagenet times a line of castles, fortified abbeys, or small towns, ran

³⁵ He seems to have left two wives, Joan Butler, daughter of the Lord Dunboyne, and mother of Elena, and Maria ny Swyny, who claimed certain lands *ut quondam uxor*.

³⁶ Frost's *Clare*, p. 601. Petition of John Mac Namara of Creevagh.

³⁷ If Castle ne curry of the *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, James I, is Castle Cor. But it may be Curragh.

from Cork as far as the open country in County Limerick—Blarney, Ballinamona, Mourné Abbey, Castlemore Barrett, Mallow, Ballyclough, Annagh, Liscarroll, Castle Ishin. As the Mac Carthys recovered the lost ground this line was broken; Blarney became the chief house of Mac Carthy of Muskerry; Ballinamona was utterly destroyed; the Barretts became vassals of Mac Carthy.³⁸ In all probability, then, Castle Cor and Lohort were won by the Irish, and served to form a rampart for their eastern territories, acting as a check on Ballyclough and Liscarroll.

In 1641, the *Down Survey* maps show that the castle and lands of Castle Magner, the property of Richard Magner, formed a detached portion of Orrery, entirely surrounded by Duhallow.³⁹ This seems to be the case of a colonist family holding its own against the Irish reconquest. A further bit of evidence that the frontier between Duhallow and the colonists was not very settled is given by the Inquisition of 1609, which states that Andrew Barrett and Katherine, his wife, claimed the seven quarters of Twoghe O' Murrchie in Pobul I Callaghan.⁴⁰

Duhallow was surrounded on three sides by the lands of the Geraldines and the Barrys. This exposed position was counterbalanced by its natural strength, as it was largely wood or bog, with a very hilly district in the north-west, which to-day is one of the least known parts of Ireland. It was, however, thoroughly laid waste in 1569 by Sir Henry Sidney.⁴¹

It suffered more than the other Mac Carthy lands in Elizabeth's reign, partly because two rival Mac Donoughs contended for the Lordship. Mac Auliffes took some part both in the Desmond war of 1579, and in the war of Hugh O'Neill, on the anti-English side.⁴²

³⁸ Herbert says Mac Carthy Mór had £11 yearly from the Barretts.

³⁹ The Pipe Roll of Cloyne shows in the fourteenth century that Anglo-Norman families such as the Magners and Barrys held from the See of Cloyne lands in Duhallow which in the sixteenth century were in Irish hands. For instance, David Magner held Clonmeen and five carucates. Also, Subulter was held by Thomas Magner, Robert Barry, and Philip Fitz Martin.

⁴⁰ *Ex parte orientali de Dowglasse*. We also find that three plough lands of Ballygrad, of which Dermot Mac Owen Mac Donough was seized in fee, paid a chief rent to the Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant, of 8s. 4d. sterling, and the sixth part of four white groats yearly. (Inq., 18th Jas. I, Vol. ii, p. 101.)

⁴¹ Sir Hy. Sidney's relation. *Car. Cal.*

Clan Auliffe was wasted by the English forces in 1580 (*Cor*) and again in 1600. (*Pac. Hib.*)

⁴² An inquisition of 1609 says that Melaghlin Mac Dermodie Mac Auliffe entered into rebellion with the Earl of Desmond, etc., in

In James I's reign Mac Auliffe's son is mentioned as an exile in Spain; and much of the country was forfeited, though one of the clan had lands in 1641. According to O'Donovan, the last head of this clan was a weighmaster at Kenmare in 1840.⁴³

Art O'Keeffe and Cahir O'Callaghan are both commended for their loyalty by James I. The Earl of Desmond plundered Pobul O'Keeffe in 1582; and, when the O'Keeffes pursued the plunderers, he slew nearly all their fighting men.⁴⁴

There was one other small clan in this Barony, the O'Nunans or O'Hunans, Gaelic Ua Inmainen, six of whom held in 1641 some 2,200 plantation acres in the parish of Tullylease. They were Erenaghs or hereditary tenants of the lands attached to the Church of St. Beretchert. Dr. Reeves, in an article in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, says that in his day the O'Nunans claimed the right of burial in the chancel of the ruined church, and that one of them still prided himself on possessing the guardianship of the edifice.⁴⁵

There are but few notices of Duhallow in the *Calendars of the State Papers*. Inquisitions and grants of the time of Elizabeth and James give data from which the boundaries of the various clans can be fixed with some accuracy. They also supply information as to the rights of Mac Donough Mac Carthy over the subject clans. As we have seen the revenues of Mac Carthy Mór from Duhallow were comparatively small. The Inquisition of 1609 tells us that Conogher O'Callaghan received the rod, the symbol of rule, from the Earl of Clancarthy; and also that a certain writing under the hand and seal of the Earl, dated Jy. 20th, 1590, was shown to the jurors. Unluckily, they do not mention the

the 21st year of Elizabeth, and died immediately afterwards, being seized in fee at the time of his death of the castle, etc., of Castle Mac Auliffe, area 4 quarters. Also that Dermitius Mac Melaghlin Mac Awliffe was unlawfully in possession of the castle, etc., of Carrigg Cashell, which he had seized from his father and was slain in rebellion in 1602, his father being then alive and a faithful subject. Dermot left four sons, the eldest being Melaghlin.

⁴³ But d'Alton, in *King James' Army List*, says that the last chief died in 1720, a colonel in Spain.

The Inq. of 1609 on the MacAuliffes states that the castles and lands mentioned are held of McDonogho, Lord of Dowally, but by what rents and services the jury do not know.

⁴⁴ In *Cal. State Papers*, 1582, p. 399, there is mention of the slaughter of 80 gentlemen of "Dowallie" in an ambushade by the traitors.

⁴⁵ Vol. IV, 1858.

nature of the writing; but one is tempted to look on it as some kind of charter meant to confirm Conogher's title.

Except for the giving of the rod, rising out, the "finding" of twenty-seven gallowglasses, and four uncertain sorrens in the year, all of which Mac Carthy Mór had reserved for himself, the usual dues payable by a subject clan to the overlord went in Duhallow to Mac Donough Mac Carthy.

Various inquisitions supply some curious details as to these dues, supplementing the information given by the Lambeth Survey.

For example, the inquisition of 1631 on Callaghan O'Callaghan, gives as due to Mac Donough sixty beeves to be levied on six quarters, each of three ploughlands, all named, and goes on to say that Mac Donough claimed *cibum, potum, solar' et cubilca per vigint' et septem mil' cu' puer' suis et libertate' et potestate' imponend' tertiam partem alien' quos pd McDonough placuet munctare*; and an inquisition in English, dated 1617, gives the same information, and says Mac Donough had out of "poble O'Callaghane" the meat, drink, and wages for twenty and seven gallowglasses with their boys, and also meat, drink and lodgings for one third part of all strangers which Mac Donough may please to entertain as often as occasion did require—a very convenient way of exercising hospitality.

The same inquisition of 1617 shows that Mac Donough had certain rights over the whole Barony closely resembling those of a feudal lord of the highest rank. He had out of every felon's goods in the Barony 21 cows if the felon were worth so much, or the value thereof out of the felon's goods. He had free liberty and power for himself and his retinue to hunt, kill and take all manner of game, and to fowl and fish in all places within that Barony.

Then the dues payable from the lands of the O'Keeffes are recited—an annual rent of two good principal beeves, eight muttons, thirtie and two dishes of butter, every dish of butter containing eight pottles or quirrens according to the ancient custom, and thirty-two pecks of oat-meal according as the same was anciently paid in the country, and also the cissing of several English soldiers as often as occasion did require, and six young cows yearly or in lieu of every cow 6/8 yearly.

Then certain named lands were liable for a "refection" both for himself and his retinue twice a year, as well as for the cost of seven soldiers yearly.

Other lands paid a money rent, others a money rent, dishes of butter, pecks of meal, the service of eight pence

sterling with every dish of butter, and also a refection twice a year.⁴⁶

Then, six of the nine ploughlands of Ballintubbertt paid two hogs, one beef, one peck of wheat, one gallon of "hunney," one gallon of *Acquavitæ*, one bushel of burnt oats, one barrel of beer, to be paid yearly at Christmas and Easter, together with twenty shillings to be paid yearly out of the said lands.

An inquisition printed in the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, James I, mentions rents and services claimed by Mac Donough out of Clan Auliffe, the certainty of which is not known.⁴⁷

Other documents dealing with Duhallow are to be found in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, James I. Thus, on page 201, there is a direction about preserving the rights of the "under tenants." Page 213 has a grant to Art O'Keeffe apparently of the whole of his country, some forty-one ploughlands. On page 275, is a King's letter directing that a surrender of lands in Duhallow, all named, be accepted from Dermot Mac Donough Carty, and that a regrant of the same be made to him; and this regrant is calendared on page 282. A list of forfeited lands of Clan Auliffe is given on page 285.

From these various documents we can get an idea of the areas occupied by the separate Duhallow clans. *The Down Survey* and the *Books of Survey and Distribution* give further help towards the geography of Duhallow.

In 1592 a government tax of £30 a year was imposed on the Barony. We are told "Dowallie is equally divided into three parts, viz., one part called Clancarties of Dowallie, the second O'Chalchane's country, the third part is McAlie's, O'Keeffe's and O'Kirke's countries."⁴⁸

Each of the three parts named were assessed at one third of the total sum. From this the relative taxable capacity of the clans holding Duhallow can be estimated.

We find in Duhallow a curious measure of land, namely, a "great quarter," sub-divided into three "small quarters" each of three ploughlands. And the great quarter of nine ploughlands is said to be equal to twenty-four "men's

⁴⁶ The money paid with each dish of butter shows a close parallel with Welsh customs of the 13th century.

⁴⁷ P. 285.

⁴⁸ *Car. Cal.*, 1592, p. 69. I have found no other mention of O'Kirke; but in the map of Munster (Speed's), printed in Vol. I, *Jour. C. H. and A. Soc.*, the name O'Kerues appears just south of O'Keff.

portions."⁴⁹ This would seem to date from a time when every full clansman was entitled to a definite measure of land as his portion. If the Duhallow ploughland was the normal one of 120 acres, the "man's portion" would have consisted of forty-five acres.

We have already seen that the O'Callaghans occupied the south-east corner of the barony, and held both sides of the Blackwater as far west as the junction of the Allo with the larger river. O'Keeffe had the south-west, and all the western part, bordering on Magunihy in Kerry. The north-west was held by Mac Auliffe. The eastern frontier facing the lands of the Barrys and Fitzgeralds of Orrery and Kilmore was in the hands of Mac Donough. He also had the centre, round his chief castle, Kanturk; and farther west he had lands bordering on the Blackwater, which divided into two the lands of the O'Keeffes. From the lists of townlands given in the various grants and inquisitions, supplemented by the Cromwellian surveys, it would be possible to make an accurate map of the Duhallow clans.⁵⁰

During the latter part of Elizabeth's reign two rivals, Donough Mac Cormac, and Dermot Mac Owen contended for the Lordship of Duhallow. They both traced descent to Donough Oge, who died in 1501, leaving two sons. The descendants of each succeeded from time to time to the Lordship; and at least three family murders appear to have taken place between 1501 and 1585. The descendant of the younger son, Dermot Mac Owen, now put forward a claim, based not only on the fact that several of his line had held the Lordship, but on the allegation that the elder of the two sons of Donough Oge was a bastard.⁵¹

⁴⁹ These occur in the territories of Mac Donough, O'Keeffe and Mac Auliffe; and "great quarters" are mentioned in O'Callaghan's country. In some cases the names of the "men's portions" are given. The Gaelic name is given in English dress as Quid ffire—Gaelic, Cuid fir.

⁵⁰ The O'Callaghans held all Kilshannig and Clonmeen parishes, south of the Blackwater, and north of it the Duhallow portions of Mallow and Ballyclogh, all Roskeen, the south of Castlemagner, and as much of the modern Dromtariff as is east of the Allo. Mac Donough had the rest of Castlemagner (except such lands as the Magners had preserved), Kilbrin, Knocktemple, part of Tullylease, Clonturk, some smaller parishes, most of Kilmeen, and parts of Cullen and Dromtariff. O'Keeffe had the rest of Dromtariff and Cullen; the Duhallow parts of Drishane and Nohavaldaly, and the west of Kilmeen.

MacAuliffe had Clonfert and part of Kilmeen.

There were at least 51 ploughlands in Pobul O'Callaghan, at least 45 in Clan Auliffe, and at least 41 in Pobul O'Keeffe. Duhallow, in Smith's day, was estimated as containing 253 ploughlands.

⁵¹ Dermot Mac Owen maintained that Cormac, eldest son of

This argument, based as it seems entirely on English law, shows to what an extent the Gaelic chiefs were beginning to take advantage of that law, when it suited them. Details of the contest can be found in the *Mac Carthys of Munster*. It was complicated by the invasion of Munster by Hugh O'Neill. Each claimant tried to take advantage of the struggle between O'Neill and the Government; and if one definitely committed himself to one side, his rival would veer to the other.

Dermod Mac Owen had further complicated matters by putting forward a claim to the dignity of Mac Carthy Mór, on the death of the Earl of Clancarthy. As I have said, the grounds of this claim are not very easy to understand. Dermod Mac Owen succeeded in obtaining a large amount of support; and would have been inaugurated at Lisbanagher, the spot where Mac Carthy Mór received his inauguration, had not O'Sullivan Mór, whose office it was to "give the rod," refused to perform that ceremony. He is said to have assumed the title on Dec. 3rd, 1598, with the result that the Queen directed that a promise of pardon and of the Lordship should be given to Donough, who was at the moment apparently in rebellion, provided he repented of his offences, and joined against Dermod.

In spite of the fact that the Government thus had grounds of complaint against Dermod, his claim to the lordship was finally allowed by James I, to the detriment of Cormac, son of his rival, Donough Mac Cormac.⁵² Even the usual expedient of weakening the power of a chief by a division of the country was not adopted. The *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, James I, contains a direction that in preparing a grant to Dermod Mac Owen Carthy of Kanturk, care should be taken that he shall not by force of his new grants avoid the particular estates of his under tenants, provided that they shall have been contributory to the charges of procuring said grant.⁵³

Donough Oge, was a bastard of the White Knight's daughter, and that his ancestor, Owen, the younger son, was a lawful son of the Earl of Desmond's daughter.

A Lambeth pedigree says that the second wife of Donough Oge was a daughter of Mac Carthy Mór.

⁵² Dermod Mac Owen was imprisoned before the Spaniards landed and was not released until after the battle of Kinsale. Donough Mac Cormac was carried off as a prisoner by Hugh O'Neill, who feared he might go against Dermod on the English side. Dermod having submitted, Donough was released "to set a fire in Munster," but was killed in O'Shaughnessy's country in March, 1601 (*Pacata Hibernia*).

⁵³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Jas. I, p. 201. P. 275 gives a King's letter to accept surrender and make a regrant: p. 282 has the regrant.

Here is a clear case of the Crown being alive to the fact of a lord desiring to surrender as his own what belonged to the freeholders.

Apparently the under tenants did not contribute, or were held to have no estate, for the *Down Survey* gives Dermot, son of Dermot Mac Owen, as sole owner in 1641 of an immense property, though, as we learn from other sources, a greatly encumbered one.⁵⁴

Close to the town of Kanturk stands the massive shell of an unfinished mansion, which, if completed, would have been one of the most imposing buildings erected by a Gaelic chief. Smith, in his *History of Cork*, tells us a story to the effect that the completion of the castle was prevented by an order from the Lords of the Council in England to have the work stopped, it having been represented to Queen Elizabeth as a strong and dangerous fortress, and as a place of very dangerous importance to belong to a private subject. He does not, however, give his authority.

The existing remains show that the building can never have been intended as a fortress; and it does not seem probable that an elaborate mansion of the kind would have been begun in the days of Elizabeth, especially while the Lordship of the country was in dispute. But if it was the work of Dermot Mac Owen its architecture would suit the peaceful days of James I; and the expenditure on it would account for the financial difficulties in which there is no doubt that Dermot was involved.

This Dermot died in 1625, and was succeeded by his son, another Dermot, though we are told that Cormac Mac Donough Carthy of Corragh claimed all the premises. This Cormac appears to have been the son of Donough Mac Cormac, the Lord who had been dispossessed by Dermot Mac Owen.

But in 1666 it was certified in the Court of Claims, under the Act of Settlement, that Sir Philip Percival had lent more money to Dermot Mac Owen Carthy *alias* Mac Donough upon the territories of Duhallow and manor of Kanturk than they were worth, and that the said Sir Philip was in actual possession of them on Oct. 23rd, 1641. That the Equity of Redemption, which was of no value, was forfeited by the said Dermot's engaging with the rebels, and

This includes "all rents, customs, privileges used to be paid to Mac Donough and to the Lord of Duhallow for the lands and territories of Poble Icallaghane, Poble Ikeiff, and the lands of Donough Oge, [of] Biallyhibakallagh." It is very badly calendared.

⁵⁴ See *Inquisition XI of Charles I. Inq. R. I. Acad.*, Vol. IV, p. 309.

that therefore the heir of Sir Philip Percival was legally entitled to the said Lordship and manor.⁵⁵

Mac Donough, Lord of Duhallow, is said to have been slain at the battle of Knockneclassy in 1652, as he charged at the head of a squadron of horse. This was probably the son and successor of Dermod Mac Owen.

The immense estate which the *Books of Survey and Distribution* show to have been held in 1641 by Dermod Oge Carthy, *alias* Mac Donough, accordingly passed into other hands. We do not find Mac Donough Mac Carthy named in any of the categories of persons who at the Restoration were to recover all or part of their former estates, nor does the name appear among those transplanted to Connaught. For a moment, in the days of James II, the dispossessed Irish recovered what had once been theirs. Colonel Charles Mac Donough Mac Carthy was named as one of the assessors for Co. Cork to applot a monthly levy of £20,000 from the whole country.

The last reference to this family is when we hear of the submission to King William's authority of Colonel Charles Mac Carthy, *alias* Mac Donough, who was still looked on as Lord of Duhallow, and who, with O'Callaghan, is said to have control over 1,000 men and at least seven or eight thousand cows. They submitted before the battle of Aughrim. The Mac Donough family seems then to pass out of history.

The inquisitions show us that, in addition to the chief rents from the O'Callaghans and the O'Keeffes, there were others payable out of lands whose owners are not specified. But in some cases we can identify these lands as being in the possession of Mac Donough Mac Carthys, whose relationship to the ruling house cannot be determined. Thus there are chief rents specified out of Ballynoae, which seems to correspond with Ballynoe in Kilbrin Parish, the property in 1641 of Donogh Carthy.

I can find no clue to his identity.

Then there are rents from lands which an inquisition of the twenty-second year of James I tells us, had been part of the lands of Donatus (Donough) Oge Mac Carthy who died in 1622, leaving a son and heir, Callaghan. Chief rents from the lands of Donough Oge are mentioned in the grant to Dermod Mac Owen in 1616, as if he was a person of some importance. His lands amounted to over seven ploughlands. In 1641 they were all or mostly in possession of "Esq. Percival, English Protestant." From

⁵⁵ Only two other Mac Carthys or Mac Donoughs appear as proprietors in 1641, viz., Teige O'Carthy and Donough Carthy.

the inquisition cited above it would appear that Callaghan and his widowed mother had disposed of all or most of the lands of Donough Oge by the time the inquisition was taken.

We hear of claims to the lands of Corro Mawne and Dromynnyne, as being their ancient inheritance, by a certain Donnogho me Fynnyne Cartey in the behalf of himself and his nephew, Owen Mc Donnell Cartey, in the Inquisition of 1617 already mentioned; and from another inquisition, 11th of Charles I, we learn that Thadeus Donnell (Teige Mac Donnell?) Carty de Killvarrige claimed four and a half ploughlands of Corra Maione and Dromenyne.

This Teige Mac Donnell may well be the Teige O'Carthy, who, according to the *Books of Survey and Distribution*, held in 1641, certain lands in the parish of Knockatemple.⁵⁶

The Inquisition 18th of James I tells us that Dermot Mac Owen had purchased four ploughlands from Donell Bwy Mc Pheylme Mc Carthy.⁵⁷

These various Mac Carthys would, then, be Mac Donough Mac Carthys, kinsmen, more or less remote, of the ruling house, who had become recognised as landowners, owing only chief rents to Mac Donough.

As to Donough Mac Cormac, the Lord dispossessed by Dermot Mac Owen, he left a son, Cormac.

In 1612 the King directed Chichester to call before him Cormac Mac Donough, and Dermot Mac Owen, and to accept a surrender from and make a regrant to whichever of them shall be found to have right. Evidently the decision was in favour of Dermot; but the grounds for this are by no means clear, especially as the King's letter states that Donough had been taken prisoner and slain by the traitor Tyrone.

An Inquisition, 11th of Charles I, found that Cormac was heir to his father, Donough Mac Cormac of Carraghin, who had held Ruinoto and the castle and lands of Corragh, with remainder to Dermot Mac Owen.

This looks as if Cormac and Dermot had come to some kind of agreement. But another Inquisition of the same year says that Cormac Mac Donnogh Carthy of Corragh, claimed all the Mac Donough lands.

In 1641 Curragh was owned by John Percival.

There are a large number of references to Clan Auliffe in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, James I, and in the in-

⁵⁶ Teige O'Carthy in 1641 had Killvallyvoroghy, Killdenane and part of Lisnegveevy.

⁵⁷ The lands were Currihine, Knocknecreagh, and the west moiety of Gortnyscreggy.

quisitions, with very minute records of the names of the great quarters, ploughlands and "men's portions," often giving the exact meares and bounds. These documents record a complicated series of transactions, with the outcome that in 1641 the greater part of the territory of Clan Auliffe was Crown Land, most of which was held on lease by Sir Richard Aldworth; while Florence Mac Auliffe is returned as owner of a considerable estate.⁵⁸

We hear of the four great quarters belonging to Castle Mac Auliffe, each of three small quarters or twenty-four men's portions. These small quarters were the normal ones of three ploughlands.

There was one large quarter belonging to Carrigencashell. So the whole territory was estimated at 45 ploughlands; but it appears that there was an immense tract of mountain common pasture not taken into account in the admeasurement.

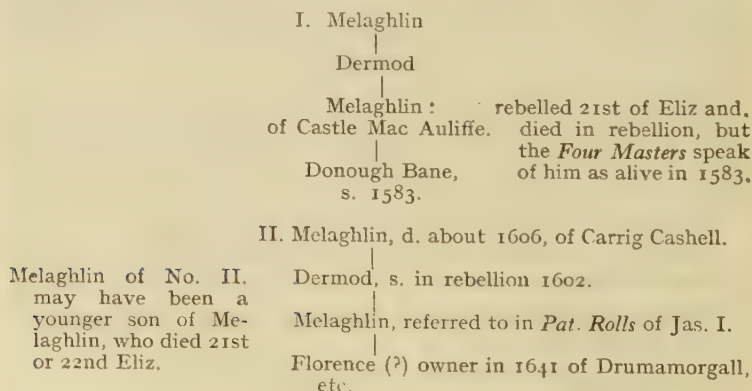
Clan Auliffe and parts of Pobul O'Keeffe are to this day among the least known parts of Ireland.

The head of the O'Keeffes, Art, got in 1612 a grant of the whole territory of the clan. The fact that, some thirty years before, the greater part of the fighting men of the O'Keeffes had been slain by the Earl of Desmond may account for this grant, which ignored all the rights of the rest of the clan.

In 1641 practically the whole of Pobul O'Keeffe was in the possession of Daniel O'Keeffe, as the *Books of Survey and Distribution* show, though some townlands are set down as Crown lands.

At the Restoration, he regained a considerable part of

⁵⁸ From the *Patent Rolls* and the *Four Masters* and Inquisitions we get the following descents:—



his former estate. He figures among the "Ensignmen" in the royal declaration prefixed to the Act of Settlement. But the family persevered too long in loyalty; and for adherence to James II, Daniel O'Keeffe was deprived of all that had been recovered after the Restoration.

There is a list given in the *Carew Calendar* of the "ordinary forces" kept by the particular lords in Munster, "which were maintained by their tenants at all times, collected when Sir John Perrott was President there." From this it appears that Mac Donough maintained 8 horsemen and 100 footmen, Mac Auliffe 6 horse and 200 foot, O'Keeffe and O'Callaghan between them 15 horse and 200 foot.⁵⁹ Thus the Barony of Duhallow maintained a standing force of 529 men. At the same time we are told Mac Carthy Mór, together with the two O'Donoghues, Mac Gillycuddy and Mac Fyneen had 8 horse and 400 foot; the two O'Sullivans 4 horse and 440 foot, Muskerry 20 horse and 300 foot, and Carbery 30 horse and 1,000 foot.

The question arises, do these figures represent the total strength of the "rising out" of all the freemen or are they the figures of the actual standing force of mercenaries maintained in idleness by the Lords at the expense of the smaller freeholders and the unfree classes, and that in times of comparative peace. The figures seem too small for the former supposition, especially as there is a list in Vol. 635 of the *Lambeth MSS.*, which sets out in detail the forces of the Mac Carthys O'Sullivans and O'Donoghues in Desmond alone, and gives a total of 1,234, who are said to be all foot.

So we must suppose that in times of peace a standing army of close on 2,800 men was maintained by the various branches of the Clan Carthy and their subjects.

Nicholas Browne says that, if the followers of Mac Carthy Mór were united, they could make from seven to eight thousand armed men. In *Pacata Hibernia* it is said that the Lord of Muskerry could put 1,000 armed men into the field. Carbery seems to have been able to raise 2,000 to 3,000 men on very short notice.

In vol. 635 of the *Lambeth MSS.* there is a list of "The forces of the Irish borders in the several countries in an.

⁵⁹ *Car. Cal.*, 1569, p. 392. This assigns only 3 horse to O'Keeffe and to O'Callaghan, but the original MS. has 3 and 12.

Car. Cal., 1579, p. 175, has "the number of horsemen, galloglas, and kerne retained by the lords in Munster to serve one upon an other for the defence of their countries, with which they make roads and journeys and leave their countries guarded in their absence." Details are not given, but the total is put at 5,196 in the country, and 2,610 in the cities and towns.

Henry VIII, when the reformation of the country was taken in hand."⁶⁰

This gives to Mac Carthy Mór and the clans subject to him a total force of 3,782 fighting men—horse, galloglass and kerne, yet several of the subject clans are omitted, notably O'Sullivan Mór; and the forces of Muskerry are put at only 40 horse, 80 galloglass and 200 kern. If we add to this the estimate for Carbery, viz., 2,492, we do not fall far short of the estimate of Nicholas Browne.

Besides these forces maintained by the native chiefs, most of the Irish clans who submitted to the Crown in Tudor times undertook to "find," i.e., to support, the whole charge of a certain number of the Royal galloglasses for a quarter of each year. The *Carew Calendar* follows up the list previously cited by another giving these government forces, from which it appears that the various branches of the Clan Carthy were liable for eight hundred and twenty "sparres of galloglass" for a quarter.⁶¹ Now it often happened that the Crown did not require so many soldiers, and then the various clans were allowed to compound for this maintenance at the rate of £3 a quarter for each galloglass. This for that period is an enormous sum—£1 would then purchase three beeves—and of course soldiers quartered on the defenceless population would consume a great deal more than this government estimate. But, adopting the view that each "sparre" of galloglass cost the clan "finding" him £3 a quarter, we find that the parts of Cork and Kerry we are now considering were liable for £2,460, or 7,380 head of cattle, per annum to the Crown, over and above the charge of supporting the private forces of the chiefs. Even at the present day these districts would find the keeping-up of a standing force of over 5,000 men no easy burden.

There is, of course, the usual conflict of evidence as to the wages of a galloglass. In 1553 he is said to have received four pence a day.⁶² In 1562 the galloglass is rated at eight pence a day.⁶³ In 1575 we are told that the wages of a galloglass for a quarter of a year "when it is best cheap" were one beef for his wages and two for his feeding and diet.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ The mention of Teige MacCormac of Muskerry would put the date at some time after 1537.

⁶¹ Dymmok, *Treatise of Ireland*, says the "sparre" was one galloglass with two attendants. He sometimes had a horse. The list does not specify a quarter of a year, but this was the usual term. See *Carew Cal.*, 1553, p. 240, and 1562, p. 332.

⁶² *Car. Cal.*, 1553, pp. 236, 239, 240.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1562, p. 332. 120 galloglasses for a quarter = £360.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1575., p. 9.

In 1579 the cost of its "men of war" to Ulster is put at eight beeves per head a year; but a little further on we are told that the Ulster lords "waged" 1,300 horse and 3,500 foot at a cost to the province of 46,400 beeves a year. Ulster was more or less at peace at this time.⁶⁵

The various lists of Irish forces given in the official accounts vary so much as to be of little authority.⁶⁶ A wealthy chief could hire mercenaries to almost any extent from the clans of professional gallowglasses, or from the Hebrides. This probably explains to some extent the varying estimates.

We also get the usual conflict of evidence as to the status of these hired troops. According to an account in the *State Papers* of Henry VIII,⁶⁷ "Galloglaghes are noon other but as a kind of sowchynners, that serveth for their wages, and not for love ne affection to their maister that they serve; and emonges 200 of theme shalbe skaunt 8th that are gentilmen, or to loke like to hable men, and all the residue sklawes, and out of the Irishrie and gatherid out of diverse countreys, such as their maisters comonly in their wages hath some gayne by."

But this is hardly borne out by what we know of the professional gallowglasses, the Mac Swinys, the Clan Sheehy and the Mac Donnells from the western seaboard of Scotland. All of these were of free status.

The "rising out" of all the freemen of a country does not seem, in Elizabethan times at least, to have been of such military value. In thirteenth century Wales, the obligation to military service was for six weeks in the year outside the lord's territory, and at any time within it.⁶⁸ It is probable that the same limitation held for the Irish rising out.

⁶⁵ *Car. Cal.*, 1579, p. 176; and *Cal. State Papers*, 1579, p. 197.

⁶⁶ *Car. Cal.*, 1575, the Ulster Lords maintained 8,356 armed men, horse, kerne, gunners, galloglass and Scots.

In 1586 there is a detailed description which gives the total of the Ulster forces as 8,140. In 1592 we have a detailed list by "countrys," 2,238 horse and 15,130 foot in Ulster. In 1598 the total is only 4,583; but on the arrival of the Earl of Essex we are told that the revolted Ulster lords had 7,652 men under arms.

⁶⁷ Vol. III, Pt. 2, p. 448.

⁶⁸ Rhys and Brynmor Jones. *The Welsh People*, Fourth Ed., p. 205.

5--OF MUSKERRY.

OF the fourteen "countries" said by Herbert to be subject to Mac Carthy Mór, there still remains the second on his list, Muskerry. Of this, he says that besides the giving of the rod and rising out, Mac Carthy Mór had the finding of thirty galloglasses, the right to certain days entertainment in the year, and certain lands set apart for him.

The *Lambeth Survey* specifies these lands as the castle and lands of Mashanaglass.

Herbert also says: "The lords of this country by taking letters patent of the Kings of England, have exempted themselves from him (the Earl) as they say."

If one looks at a map giving the Baronies in Co. Cork, one is at once struck with their varying size. To the west there are three great baronies, Carbery with 560 square miles, larger than several of our smaller counties; Muskerry with 311,000 acres, and Duhallow with 232,000 acres. Alongside of these are the tiny Baronies of Courceys, Ibane and Barryroe, smaller than some parishes.

The reason for this variation in size is that in Co. Cork the Barony, as a rule, represents the actual political divisions of Elizabethan times.

The Barony of Fermoy represents pretty closely the territory held by the Norman family of the Roches; the great territory of Barrymore, the lands occupied by the head of the Barrys; the extremely small Baronies of Courceys, Ibane and Barryroe, the lands which the De Courceys, Lords of Kinsale, and a junior branch of the Barrys, had managed to preserve against the attacks of Mac Carthy Reagh. Then, too, we have, close to Cork, Kinelea, the property in the sixteenth century of Barry Oge, but preserving a far older name, the tribal name of the O'Mahonys; while Kinelmeaky, farther west, represents the territory actually held in the sixteenth century by a branch of that clan.

The three baronies, to which I have drawn attention as of exceptional extent, represent the possessions of three great branches of the Mac Carthy family, Mac Carthy Reagh, Mac Carthy of Muskerry, and Mac Donough Mac Carthy of Duhallow.

To come now to the second of these. The present barony does not altogether represent the Elizabethan area, as a portion round Ballinecollig formed at that time part of the Barony of Barretts, and was held by the Norman-Welsh

family of that name. It takes in the greater part of the area drained by the Lee and its tributaries to the west of Cork city, as well as a portion of the area drained by the Blackwater.

Muskerry has this peculiarity, that it represents the nearest example to anything like a feudal lordship which we find among the native Irish. The cause of this seems to be that the Lords continually increased their territories at the expense of their English neighbours.¹ The lands thus won they kept mostly in their own hands, placing on them not free clansmen, but "followers," either professional mercenary soldiers, or cultivators of the soil belonging to the non-free classes. In the sixteenth century we find at least half the country held by the lord as demesne, and a comparatively small portion divided among other Mac Carthys, while about one-third of the country was held by subject clans. Hence a natural tendency on the part of the Lord to approximate to the status of a feudal landowner.

The *Four Masters* call one of this house the wealthiest of all the descendants of Eoghan Mór. Almost alone among their fellows, the Lords of Muskerry followed a steady policy during the Tudor period, namely, by an unswerving support of the Crown to free themselves, first from their enemies the Geraldines, secondly from their overlord, Mac Carthy Mór, and their success in this is sufficiently shown by the fact that soon after they fell—victims to their steadfast loyalty, and the last to fall of all the great Gaelic houses—their estates were valued at £60,000 a year; and the Lord of Muskerry, by then Earl of Clancarthy, ranked as one of the greatest subjects of the Crown.²

Now, as to the name, we find it always written in the sixteenth century Muserie or Musery, showing that it is quite wrong to pronounce it as if it rhymed with Kerry. The word is *Musc raighe*.³ The name, according to legend,

¹ They also may have increased their power at the expense of their Irish neighbours. Canon O'Mahony thinks that the O'Mahonys of Iffanlua, Clan Fyneen and Clan Conogher were not brought under the power of the Lords of Muskerry until about 1460. In 1600 there was still a distinction between "Old Muserie" north of the Lee, and the southern possessions of its Lords. No trace is found in the 16th century of the O'Flynnns, the original owners of Old Muskerry.

² This estimate is said to have been made in 1735 by the Primate, Dr. Boulter (O'Callaghan, *Irish Brigade*). Gibson, *History of Cork*, Vol. II, says the Muskerry estates were valued at about £200,000 a year in 1796.

³ This at least is O'Donovan's explanation in his edition of the *Topographical Poem of O'Heerin*. He says that *raighe* was one of

comes from a certain Cairbre Muse, who had six or seven sons who settled in different parts of Munster, and left the name Muse raighe, the descendants of Muse, to the territories which they occupied.

Four of these were in Co. Cork—Muserie Mitine, the modern Kerrycurrihy, the country between the Douglas River and Carrigaline; Muserie Donnegan, round Buttevant; and Muserie Luachra, near the sources of the Blackwater; finally, Muserie Flynn, round the head waters of the Lee. This latter name, under the form Musgrylenn, is still in use to denote one of the rural deaneries in the Protestant Diocese of Cloyne.

This district in ancient times was much smaller than the modern Barony. It was confined to the district from Macroom to Millstreet, and from the Kerry border eastward, keeping to the north of the Lee, to about as far as the Dripsey river.⁴

The clan which we find in early days in possession was that of O'Flynn. All the portion of the present Barony to the south of the Lee was held by the O'Mahonys, the ruling family of the most powerful tribe in Cork, for long indeed the most powerful tribe in Munster. Their lands corresponded roughly with the modern Diocese of Cork, and reached from the city to Mizen Head and to Bantry. That part of their territory which lay directly south of the Lee, was called Ui Flann Lua. A full account of this family has been given by the late Canon O'Mahony.⁵ He gives good reasons for supposing that, for a time at least, the power of the O'Mahonys extended over the whole of West Cork as far as the Kerry Paps, and the upper waters of the Blackwater, the O'Flynnns of Muskerry being subject to them.

However this may be, it is an interesting fact that in early days the Lee, or perhaps the Lee and the Sullane, formed the boundary between the lands occupied by the O'Mahonys and those held by the O'Flynnns and other clans, the usual forms of the tribe names among the descendants of the Attacotic families (Introduction, p. 8). But O'Brien, in his *Irish Dictionary*, divides it into Mus, "pleasant," and crioc, "land." Professor McNeill makes it clear that Muse raighe is the correct derivation.

⁴The *Down Survey* says that the name of Muskerry was applied to a greater or lesser extent of territory according as the power of its Lords waxed or waned. Hence we find Carrignavar and the adjacent district given in the *Down Survey* maps as a detached part of Muskerry. O'Brien's *Irish Dictionary* gives the Dripsey river as the eastern boundary of the original Muskerry O'Flynn.

⁵ *Journal of the Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*

whereas now, as for some centuries past, the division between Muskerry and Carbery follows the ridge of hills which lies south of the valley of the Lee.

We find the royal residence of the O'Mahonys, Rath Raithleann, lying almost on the modern boundary line, some of its outlying forts being within the present limits of Muskerry. And it is remarkable that while at present we find remains of raths thickly scattered over all the northern part of the Barony, especially round Donoughmore, and again in fair numbers on the ridge that divides the watershed of the Bandon from that of the Lee, we find but few raths in the flat lands along the Lee. On the other hand, the later castles are thickly planted along the Lee and the Bride, from Carrigrohane to Inchigeela.

We must infer from this that in early days the river valleys were still undrained swamps—the present Gearagh, near Macroom, being a survival—and that the population, with what cultivation there was, was chiefly to be found on the dry hillsides.⁶

The coming of the Norman-Welsh invaders in 1170 led to a violent upheaval of the old order of things in County Cork. The city was soon occupied; and from this as a centre the invaders spread over the country. The newcomers had command of the sea; and we find them colonising all the coastline, and pressing up the great rivers as far as they were navigable for the light craft of the period.

Unluckily, we have only the barest outline of the various steps in the settlement of the invaders in the south of Munster. It is generally stated on the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis that Henry II granted the whole Kingdom of Cork to Milo de Cogan and Robert Fitzstephen. There are many curious points with regard to this grant which have never been thoroughly investigated. However, one fact is certain. We find a branch of the Cogans associated with three chief manors in County Cork—Beavor or Carrigaline,⁷ Rathgogan—for the modern Goggin is only Norman De

⁶ Of course, it is possible also to account for the absence of raths in all the low-lying country west of Cork by supposing that they have been ploughed up. However, this is unlikely, for it is only within the last few years that the farmers and labourers have begun to destroy the raths to any great extent. The country between the Shournagh valley and the G. S. and W. Railway line is largely a tillage district, and it is still full of raths, which, up to a few years ago, were not touched by the ploughmen. Now, with the spread of "education," the raths are rapidly disappearing.

⁷ Beavor came to the Cogans in or shortly before 1251 by the marriage of Maria, daughter of Gerald de Prendergast, with the head of a branch of the Cogan family.

Cogan slightly disguised—and finally, Dundrinan, which Canon O'Mahony identifies with the modern Castlemore near Moviddy in Muskerry.⁸

Not only was there a castle at Dundrinan, but we hear also of burgesses there,⁹ showing that a small town—such as were built all over the country by the Anglo-Normans—existed beside the castle. Now, Castlemore is pretty well in the heart of the modern Muskerry, and we may presume that the newcomers seized on all the country from Cork, at least as far west as this castle. And if the quotation given in various works from the *Annals of Innisfallen*, stating that Macroom was among the castles destroyed by the Irish after the great victory of Callan Glen, in or about 1261, is correct, it shows that practically the whole valley of the Lee had been seized by the invaders. Allusions to Muskerry in the published *State Papers* of the Plantagenet time almost always seem to refer to the Muskerry near Tipperary. But there is one document which, in enumerating the possession of the Prendergast family, who had received in John's reign the manors of Carrigaline and Douglas, mentions certain rents from the Irish of Muskerry.¹⁰ This may refer to our Muskerry.¹¹ I think when "rent of the Irish" are mentioned in this fashion, it generally means that some of the Irish were given a more or less precarious tenure of their own lands, at a fixed rent, instead of being expelled or reduced to mere serfs; in other words, that their country was not completely subdued. I think that in any case the whole district from Macroom northwards and westwards was never conquered, and I do not know that there is any evidence to show that the invaders ever made any lodgment round Donoughmore, or in the hilly country from there to the Blackwater.

The Norman settlement was confined to the Lee valley and to the country round Blarney. Here, in the east of the present Barony, we find the Welsh family of Barrett settling down over a great tract of country from Mourne Abbey to Garrycloyne, and on to Inniscarra, and southwards by Ballincollig right across the hills to the Carrigaline river. They were, possibly, followers of the first De Cogan. They seem to have risen to power in the days of Edward III. We shall come back to this family later on.

The *Exchequer Memoranda* of the later years of Edward

⁸ *J. C. H. and A. Soc.*, 2nd series, Vol. XII, No. 73.

⁹ *Cal. Justiciary Rolls*, Ed. I, p. 77.

¹⁰ *Inq. re Gerrard de Prendergast, Cal. Doc. Irel.*, 1251.

¹¹ Of course, it might be Muscry Mitine, close to Douglas, but it is unlikely that any Irish were left in possession of the soil here.

III show that much of the Cogan lands had been overrun by the Irish, and recovered by the strong hand under Lionel Duke of Clarence. A proclamation was made that all "anglici" should return and inhabit within forty days or forfeit. A certain Richard Oge Barrett got an extensive grant of lands alleged to have been forfeited in this manner. The publication of these documents would throw much light on the obscure history of West Cork.

Milo de Cogan left no surviving son; and, according to Orpen, his moiety of the Kingdom of Cork, passed through his grand-daughter to the De Courey family. But there was a certain Richard de Cogan who got in 1207 a large grant, taking in all or part of Muskerry. It is this branch of the family which figures in the above-mentioned *Exchequer Memoranda*. Richard's son married a great heiress, daughter of Gerald de Prendergast, and with her got the manors of Beavor, close to Carrigaline, and Rathgoggin, the modern Charleville.¹² In 1439 the last of this family, Robert, son of Geoffrey Cogan,¹³ granted to James, Earl of Desmond, all his possessions, including amongst many others, "Flanluo," "Mustrylyn," "Knnalbeke" (Kinelmeaky), and Shandon. Of the districts I have named, the first three were almost certainly no longer in possession of the Cogans at the date of the grant.¹⁴

In the *Calendar of State Papers*, 1589,¹⁵ there is a curious romantic tale of the circumstances which led the old chieftain of the Cogans to make the Desmonds his heirs. Most of the details read like mere popular fiction; but it is curious that according to the story Cogan at one time promised his lands to Mac Carthy, and that in Elizabeth's day the Lords of Muskerry claimed the great Cogan castle of Beavor or Carrigaline,¹⁶ and were actually in possession of Ballea.

Nicholas Browne says that the Lords of Muskerry had forced many English freeholders to make their estates in law to them "by endurance of imprisonment and such like"

¹² Orpen: *Normans in Ireland*, Vol. III, Chap xxvii.

¹³ It is quite impossible to accept the statement of Canon O'Mahony (*J. C. H. and A. Soc.*, Vol. XV, No. 81, p. 13), that on the death of De Cogan, Dundrinan and the neighbourhood "passed into the possession of what was afterwards known as the Muskerry (or Blarney) branch of the Mac Carthys." This branch did not come into existence for nearly 150 years after the first De Cogan's death. An early Mac Carthy is called "of Dundrinan," but that does not imply that he held the castle.

¹⁴ The branch of the Barrys called Barry Oge made ineffectual claims to Kinelmeaky and Iflanlua at a much later period.

¹⁵ P. 200.

¹⁶ *Cal. State Papers*, 1588-92, p. 24,

—a delightful reversal of the ordinary process in Ireland (we may particularly admire the “such like”)—and he quotes the Barretts as yielding Castlenahinch, the Roches Carrignavar, and the “Gogans” Castlemore (the old Dun-drinan), Clohinda, and many other lands.¹⁷

About a century after the period of Dermot Mór, the first lord, the seventh lord of Muskerry, the famous Cormac Laidher, comes into prominence as an energetic builder. To him we owe the castle and friary of Kilcrea, besides churches and other works, and he enlarged or rebuilt the two great castles of Macroom and Blarney.

It is very curious that we have no certain knowledge, from any sources yet published, as to when this latter castle, so celebrated in later days, came into Mac Carthy hands.

A document, preserved by chance, and published in Dr. Caulfield's *Historical Notes on Gill Abbey*, shows us that in 1488 Eoghan, brother of Cormac Laidher, got a grant from “John, son of Richard, son of Symon de Rede Bared, lord of Cloth Phyllyb,” of his vill of Cloghphilip, the bounds of which are given,¹⁸ so that Eugene shall pay all the incumbrances of the said vil, viz., “the due income of the Irish princes out of the first issues of the said vil, viz., ten pence yearly.” We may note that there is no mention of valuable consideration, so that we may suspect “imprisonment or such like”; and the mention of the due income of the Irish princes would seem to imply that the land had for some time past been liable for tribute to the Mac Carthys.¹⁹

Cloghphilip Castle still stands close to St. Anne's, and the bounds given can still be pretty accurately identified. From them we find that the lands in question completely cut off

¹⁷ *Journal C. H. and A. Soc.*, 2nd series, Vol. XII, p. 66.

¹⁸ The bounds are, on the north, the river of the valley of Philip; on the south, the vil of Temayn; on the east, the little stream which is near Magmucy; on the west, the little stream near Gortdonchamoyr. This last is the modern Gortdonaghmore. Temayn may be a misreading. The modern Tower is spelled Tewir in old records.

¹⁹ The acquisition of this district—the Tuath Cloghroe of Elizabeth's day—by the Mac Carthys cut the territory of the Barretts in two. The “Vill” of Cloghphilip possibly did not include all Tuath Cloghroe. A Cork jury found that Edward III had granted the castle of “Guynes, now said to be Cloghroe,” to John Lombard and his heirs, and 30 ploughlands to support it, of which 14 (all named) held in 1596 by Cormac Mac Dermot of Muskerry formed part. But on the matter being debated, the “Inquisition was found void” (Morris: *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Eliz.*, 1596, p. 380). Possibly then the Mac Carthys acquired Cloghroe Castle from the Lombards. They may have acquired Blarney also from them. In 1595-6 attempts were made, without success, to show that Blarney was the property of the Crown. (*Cal. State Papers*, 1595-96.)

Blarney from the rest of Muskerry; so that if Blarney already belonged to the Mac Carthys before this cession, it must have been quite isolated from the rest of their possession. After this grant the little river running through the Muskerry golf links, and falling into the Shournagh at Coachford Junction, formed the boundary between the Mac Carthys and the Barretts.²⁰

The possession of Blarney by the Mac Carthys must have been a constant menace to the citizens of Cork, but they purchased immunity from attack by a payment of £40 "black rent" yearly to the Lord of Muskerry. On the whole, the relations between the city and their neighbour seem to have been peaceable, even though the Irish chief seized on the greater part of the parish of Currykippane, within the liberties of the city, to which the Earls of Desmond laid claim.

The Geraldines made some efforts to assert their rights to Muskerry under the Cogan grant. In 1521 a great force invaded Muskerry, intending to make "sword land" of it, i.e., to expel the actual owners, and put themselves in their place. The then Lord, Cormac Oge, son of Cormac Laidher, was a valiant and capable ruler. With his own forces he was able to unite those of his distant kinsman, the Lord of Carbery, and the combined army awaited the invaders on the borders of Muskerry close to Mourne Abbey. Here the Fitzgeralds received from their old opponents a defeat almost as signal as that of Callan Glen. The leader of the expedition and a thousand of his followers were slain, and we hear of no more attempts to make sword land of Muskerry.

It was this menace from the Geraldines, joined to the wish to shake off all allegiance to Mac Carthy Mór, that made the Lords of Muskerry such consistent supporters of the English Government during the sixteenth century. Almost alone among the great Gaelic houses, they pursued a steady policy during the troubled reign of Elizabeth, and emerged unharmed from the storm which proved fatal to their rivals, the great house of Desmond.

Of the intervening period, that from the time of the first Lord, Dermot Mór, to the days of Cormac Laidher, the available information is scanty. One or two notices in the *Annals of the Four Masters* of raids or of deaths make up almost all the published information.

But from the *Down Survey* and the *Books of Survey and*

²⁰ I can find no real name for this stream. Some call it Sheep River; other, Colthurst's Brook. The ordnance maps, with great discretion, keep silence.

Distribution we can get a fairly accurate idea of the distribution of the lands of the Barony amongst the various septs and clans, at least in its main outlines. It is a subject to which I hope to return later on.

Although the Lords of Muskerry had built up their power at the expense of the Anglo-Norman Lords, they ultimately, as I have said, became, from motives of policy, steady adherents of the English sovereigns. Cormac Laidher, or perhaps his son, Cormac Oge, obtained a patent of "denizenation" granting him all the rights of an Englishman; and in Elizabeth's day the Lords of Muskerry claimed to hold their lands by a grant from Henry VIII.²¹ This astute sovereign had, as we know, considerable trouble from the Yorkist sympathies of the great Anglo-Irish lords, headed by the Earls of Kildare and Desmond. The English citizens of Cork were ardent supporters of the two pretenders, Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, the latter of whom resided for some time in the city, under the style of Duke of York. It may well have occurred to Henry that a grant of lands claimed by the Desmonds to their actual Irish possessor would at once weaken his enemies and secure him a powerful adherent; while from the point of view of the rulers of Muskerry, the claims of the King of Desmond—their lawful overlord Mac Carthy Mór—and those of the grasping Earls of Desmond, may well have seemed more of a menace than did the authority of the distant sovereign in London.

Sir Cormac Mac Teige,²² who ruled Muskerry during the great Desmond Rebellion, is styled by the Deputy Sydney "the rarest man that ever was born of the Irishry." His services to the Crown during the struggle were very great. His loyalty had been well secured by a grant in 1578, which gave him the ownership of the soil of practically the whole of Muskerry, including the districts south of the Lee.

During Elizabeth's reign we find the Irish chiefs constantly endeavouring to get from the Crown grants which practically did away with the rights to the soil of the lesser clansmen. The Government pursued no fixed course in the matter. Sometimes the rights of the clansmen to a share of the clan lands was expressly recognised; very often the grant was so vaguely worded that it was impossible to say exactly how much was passed to the chief, in some cases the chief actually got all the lands formerly held by his clansmen.

²¹ Report of the Earl of Sussex, *Car. Cal.*, 1562, p. 335.

²² He was the fourteenth Lord, and grandson of the tenth Lord.

Now, the wording of Sir Cormac's grant, which expressly saves to all subjects of the English nation their rights by English but not by Irish law, seems to show that he was made legal owner of the whole Barony, with power to transmit the lands and lordship to his sons, to the exclusion of the tanist who, by Irish law, should have succeeded him.

But conscience proved too strong for the letter of the law. Under his grant Cormac Mac Teige had power to leave his lands by will, if he thought fit. And in 1583 he made a most remarkable will, in which, "for conscience sake," he leaves the lordship and the lands attached to it, to his brother and tanist Callaghan, for life; then after Callaghan's death to his nephew, another Cormac, son of his elder brother, the 13th Lord; then after this Cormac's death the lordship, &c., was to pass to Cormac's brother, Teige, and it was not until this Teige was dead that the testator's own son and heir, another Cormac, was to succeed to the lordship.²³ But those lands which the testator had acquired during his own lifetime, either by grant from the Crown outside of Muskerry, or by purchase, or which he could in any way look on as held by himself, not as Lord of Muskerry, but as private property, he left to his own sons, Cormac, ancestor of the family of Cloghroe, and Donough, ancestor of the Mac Carthys of Mourne Abbey and Courtbrack.

So, when Sir Cormac Mac Teige died, his brother, Callaghan, succeeded. But his nephew, Cormac Mac Dermot, at once claimed the lordship as heir male of the family according to English law, invoking an alleged grant of the Crown, dating from the time of Edward IV or Henry VII. Callaghan, who seems to have been an easy-going person, was soon induced to yield, and was given in compensation the castle of Carrignamuck and the lands he had previously held as tanist for himself and his heirs.²⁴

Cormac Mac Dermot, once in possession of the lordship,

²³ See *Journal of C. H. and A. Soc.*, Vol. I, for an article by Mr. Gillman on Sir Cormac Mac Teige and his will.

²⁴ *Cal. State Papers*, 1586, p. 109, mentions an order made between Cormac Mac Dermot, Callaghan Mac Teige, and Dame Johan Butler (widow of Cormac Mac Teige) in July, 1584. Callaghan also got Castlemore for life. Afterwards it went to Cormac, son of Cormac Mac Teige. Cormac's son, Cormac or Charles, forfeited Castlemore in 1641.

There is a letter dated 1582 from Cormac Mac Dermot in which he says that Cormac Laidher had a charter of denizenation from Edward IV, and his son Cormac Oge one from Henry VII. So he claimed that the lands were held from the Crown, and that therefore Cormac Mac Teige had had no legal rights. (*Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, old series, Vol. III, p. 51.)

lost no time in upsetting his uncle's will. He surrendered his lands to the Crown in 1589, and obtained a regrant of the same to himself and his heirs, saving the rights of all the Queen's subjects. Of course, the other Cormac, son of the late chief, and ultimate heir under his father's will, made strenuous efforts to prevent his uncle's action. To these family dissensions is due a very curious set of documents relating to Muskerry. They are to be found in the *Carew Manuscripts* at Lambeth.

From these documents we get a valuable, if somewhat confused, account of the internal arrangements of the district.

They date from 1600 and 1601; and one, at least, bears the signature of Donough, eldest son of Sir Cormac Mac Teige Mac Carthy, the fourteenth Lord.

Unfortunately, these documents are somewhat contradictory; and the various statements, as is so often the case with Irish evidence, cannot easily be reconciled with one another, nor are they particularly well calendared in the *Calendar of Carew MSS.*

In Vol. 635 of the *Lambeth MSS.* there is a document,²⁵ dated 1600, which says that north of the Lee the Lord of Muskerry had of demesne lands 38 quarters and two ploughlands, each quarter containing three ploughlands—116 ploughlands in all—and south of the Lee he had sixteen quarters, making 48 ploughlands more.

Then by north the river there are of freeholders who pay great rents to the Lord, 66 ploughlands.

South of the Lee there were other freeholders having 26 quarters, amounting to 79 ploughlands. Then there were 18 ploughlands held by Owen Mc Teig of the Drishane, and 10 ploughlands held by Callaghan Mc Teig of Carrignamuck, neither of whom owed any rents or duties to the Lord of Muskerry.

"Whereby it appeareth that Muscreye containeth 310 ploughlands now in the possession of Cormocke Mc Dermonde, besides 28 ploughlands in the possession of Owen Mc Teig and Callaghan Mc Cartie, and besides the lands of Cloghroe being 10 ploughlands in the possession of Donoghe Mc Cormocke which owes no rent or duties to Cormocke Mc Dermonde." Then on the same page follows a list of castles in Muskerry with their occupiers.²⁶

On the next page of the manuscript is a heading, "The septs of the Carties." This gives the following names:—

²⁵ "A note of the Lands and Castles in Muskry McDermond neare Corke, viz., in An. 1600," p. 179.

²⁶ Here Cloghroe comes in twice, as it is already included in the 66 ploughlands of freeholders, north of the Lee.

Clan Cormocke Oge	15	ploughlands
Slught Decane	17	do.
Slught Tuonedromin	18	do.
Slught Cloghroe	10	do.
Sept of Clanfaddagh	1	do.
Sept of Shanekillie	5	do.

The total is given as 66 ploughlands. Then below this comes:—

“ The Septs of the Freeholders in Muskrie.”
 O’Lerie, 30 ploughlands of the O’Leries.
 Iflanloghe, 29 ploughlands of the O’Mahons.
 Clanconogher, 18 ploughlands of the O’Mahons.
 Clanfyneen, 16 ploughlands of the O’Mahons.

A bracket on the right of the page sets out the total correctly as 93 ploughlands.

Immediately under this list we have:—

Riordans	9	ploughlands	} These be followers in Musereye.
Mc Swynes	5	do.	
Morohoes	—	do.	
Clancallaghans	3	do.	

Then there is a heading:—

“ Countries in Muskrye.”

O’healiey	12	ploughlands
O’herliey	10	do.
O longe	4½	do.
O eronin	3	do.

and a bracket with a marginal note “ 36 ploughlands.”²⁷

Immediately below come:—

Hegans 3 ploughlands they are brehons
 Aulyves als O’Leavies 3 ploughlands they are surgeons
 O dallies 2 ploughlands they are Rimors.
 O donins ½ a ploughland they are eroniclers

and a marginal tot, this time correct, 8½ ploughlands.

It will be seen at once that various difficulties arise from

²⁷ The two first names under “ Countries ” seem to be written exactly alike: the *Calendar* prints O’Healihy and O’Herlihy. The document on p. 97 in Vol. 614 gives 12 ploughlands to Donoughmore, the O’Healihy’s land, and 11 to Ballyvourney, the land of the O’Herlihys.

the figures here; and that those set out in detail on page 180 of the manuscript cannot easily be reconciled with the figures given on page 179.

In volume 614 of the same Lambeth Manuscripts there are two other documents dated 1601, which while throwing more light on the one cited above, rather add to the confusion.

The first on page 97 begins "a list of all the lands in Muscry, ffirst old Muscry, the Lord's pt thereof is fourscore and ten plowlds, which lands are his own demesne lands to be set at what rent he list."

Then comes a column with names of lands, and the number of ploughlands given in Roman figures. After the demesne lands we have the entry:—

Ivelary xviii pl.lds holden of the Lord of Muscry upon rents and duties amounting to iii ? sterling the pl.ld.²⁸

Similarly, other districts and their areas are given, and they are said to be holden in the same way. We may note the "phicicions" with iii, the sept of the Riordans, with ix, the sept of the Clan Callaghans with iii, the Judges of Muserie, called Hegans, with iii ploughlands. Over and besides the premises "Teg Mc Owen's son hath xviii ploughlands," and at the bottom is an entry not easy to decipher about Donogh Mc Cormac and, apparently, Teg Mc Cormac.

This document, it will be noted, differs very much from the one first cited, both as regards the extent of the Lord's demesne and the areas of some of the districts held by freeholders.

In the same volume, at page 203, and also dated 1601, is a more detailed statement drawn up, on the whole, in a business-like way. This, while differing somewhat from the figures given on page 179 of volume 635, yet, on the whole, serves to confirm and illustrate it.

"A note of all the lands and castles in Muserie in Com. Cork 1601.

"In old Muserie northe from the river of Lee the Lord of Muskrie hath of his own demesne lands besides freeholders 38 quarters. 2 ploughlands and a half, every quarter containing 3 ploughlands.

"In old Muskrye aforesaid, north from the river of Lee, there are freeholders which pay yearly rents and duties to the L. of Muserie, who have amongst them 22 quarters of Land.

²⁸ The entry seems to read iii. £ sterling, which would be an impossibly high rent for a ploughland. Inquisitions show that the normal chief rent in Muskerry was £1 per ploughland, which is rather high.

"Owen Mc Teg and his brothers have also certain lands north from the river of Lee aforesaid but they pay no rent for these.

"On the south side of the River of Lee the L. of Muserie hath of his own demesne lands 16 quarters.

"On the said south side of the River of Lee aforesaid there are freeholders who pay rents and duties to the L. of Muskrye, having amongst them 27 quarters and a half of lands.

"The total sum of the L. of Muserie's demesne lands, together with that which is in the possession of freeholders which pay unto him rents, duties and services is 309 ploughlands."

Then seven castles in possession of the Lord are named; and we are told that Carrignamuck is in possession of Owen Mc Teg and Callaghan Mc Teg and their heirs male for ever, paying a rose or a grain of wheat. Here there is an obvious error, as Owen Mc Teg held Drishane, and was only a distant cousin of Callaghan Mac Teige of Carrignamuck.

It is also to be noted that while the figure 309 ploughlands agrees with the total given in the document in Vol. 635, yet the actual tot of the items given makes 313 ploughlands.

It seems useless to try and reconcile the smaller discrepancies. But the statement that south of the Lee there were $27\frac{1}{2}$ quarters of freeholders' lands, while agreeing closely enough with the 26 quarters, having 79 ploughlands, mentioned in the document in Vol. 635, seems impossible to reconcile with the detailed statement on page 180 of that volume, which assigns 30 ploughlands to the O'Learys, and 63 to the three septs of the O'Mahonys. Here the document on page 97 of Vol 614 may be a help, for it assigns only 18 ploughlands to Iveleary and 60 to the three O'Mahony septs, making a total of 78 ploughlands, leaving only a very small discrepancy. It is to be noted that an Inquisition of the times of James I. says that out of certain named lands in Iveleary, containing nineteen ploughlands, the Lord of Muskerry had yearly rents of beeves and money. This may imply that the total area of Iveleary was nineteen ploughlands. A further difficulty arises with the "countries." The list on page 180 of Vol. 635 gives separate items which amount to $29\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, yet gives a marginal tot of 36. And these lands do not seem to be included in the items for freeholders' lands. Yet they certainly were not demesne lands.

Finally, if we add together all the items, viz.:—

164½	ploughlands of demesne,
66	septs of Mac Carthys,
79	other freeholders,
18	Drishane,
10	Carrignamuck,
29½	“countries,”
8½	professional classes, we get as total

375½ ploughlands, which exceeds the area assigned to Muskerry by Cox and Smith, viz., 367 ploughlands. How hard it is to get at facts when dealing with Irish history!

As to the rents, duties and services owed by the freeholders to the Lord of Muskerry, I shall give some instances of them later on. Nicholas Browne tells us: “There are diverse gentlemen that are termed freeholders in the Country of Muskry, but the lordes of Muskry have mightily tyrannised over them that this daie their cheife rents are as heavie as any other Tenants landes in the Country.”

There is a marginal note on page 180 of Vol. 635 of the *Lambeth MSS.*: “All these do beare great rentes duties and services to the L. of Muserie which at his pleasure he may impose upon them.” A bracket connects this entry with the entries from “the septs of freeholders” down to the O’donins, inclusive.

If this statement of the power of the Lords of Muskerry over their subjects is true, it is further proof of the approximation of these lords to the status of feudal lords.

With regard to the status of the different clans mentioned in these documents, the septs of the Mac Carthys are the land-owning families which had branched off from the ruling house. At least two of them, the Sliocht Tuath na Dromin and the Sliocht Cloghroe, are called from the territories they occupied, in the former case the long ridge between the Sullane and the Lee which forms the present parish of Kilnamartera, in the latter case a district round Blarney.²⁹

The 66 ploughlands held by these septs evidently correspond with the 66 ploughlands of freeholders’ lands to the north of the Lee.

The “septs of freeholders,” the O’Learys and O’Mahonys,³⁰ were subject clans, corresponding to the

²⁹ The sept of “Shanekillie,” i.e., Sean Choill, apparently held the parish of Kilcorney (Inq., Jas. I.).

³⁰ For fuller particulars of the O’Mahonys see later on.

O'Callaghans, etc., in Duhallow. The O'Mahonys of Muskerry were a branch of one of the leading clans of Eoghanacht race, and had been settled in Muskerry for centuries before the English invasion. The O'Learys were a branch of the Corca Laidhe,³¹ a tribe of which the chief clan was that of O'Driscoll. Before the English invasion they had lived on the sea coast near Rossearbery. In the confusion that followed they had been driven from their old home, and had found a new one in the valley of Inchigeela, along the head waters of the Lee.

As to the "countries," we find that the O'Herlihs of Ballyvourney, and the O'Longs of Canaboy, were hereditary occupiers of church lands, no doubt holding on the tenure and under the conditions described by Sir John Davies and by Usher when speaking of Termors, Corbes and Erenaghs. We find from Bishop Dive Downe's visitation that the Bishops of Cork received £7 yearly from the O'Herlihs, and the same amount out of Tuath Canaway from the O'Longs.³²

We may then conclude that the O'Healihs, who held nearly all the parish of Donoughmore, and the O'Cronins, were in the same position.

The class called "followers" included one famous name, the Mac Swinys. They were hereditary gallowglasses, brought from the Hebrides into Donegal in the thirteenth century, and later on into Munster. The revenues of certain lands were assigned for their support.³³ In course of time, by purchase or by grant from the Crown, they acquired considerable landed property in Muskerry. For instance, about the year 1584 they managed to turn their wardership of Mashanaglass, which they held for Mac Carthy Mór, into ownership.³⁴ The other "followers," the O'Riordans, O'Murphys, etc., either performed certain

³¹ Tract on Corca Laidhe in *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*.

³² See *J. C. H. and A. Soc.*, 2nd series, Vol. XV, p. 180, for Bishop Dive Downe's visitation.

³³ In the *Lambeth MSS.* there is a statement that the Lord of Muskerry, who brought in the Mac Swiny gallowglasses, gave them a certain rent of meat and money upon every plowland in Old Muskrie, Iveleary, Iflanloghe and other territories named, also a quarter of free land.

³⁴ Full particulars about the Mac Swinys have been given by Mr. Gillman in Vol. I of the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*. He failed to understand the position as regards Mashanaglass. But Cormac Mac Dermot, if we can believe an Inquisition of the 17th of Jas. I, ignored the rights of the Earl of Clancarthy to Mashanaglass, and conveyed the castle and lands to his trusted constable, Donnell Mac Owen Mac Swiny. Yet the Survey of Desmond declares it belonged to the Earl.

duties, military or domestic, in the household of the Lord, or tilled his lands. It was from dependents of this class, not belonging to the body of the clan, that the great chiefs drew much of their strength.

In the sixteenth century a very large proportion of these followers belonged to clans, originally free and land-owning, who had either been driven from their homes by stress of war, or who, like the Mac Swinys, sought their livelihood by arms beyond the borders of their own territories. But others would belong to the various categories of the non-free classes. They were either settled on the demesne lands, or, in the case of the professional mercenary soldiers, supported at the expense of the whole country.

As definite areas are stated to have been held by the Clan Callaghans and the O'Riordans, as well as by the Mac Swinys, we must suppose that they had at least some fixity of tenure. But the lands held by them seem to be included in the demesne lands both in the document in Vol. 635 and in that on page 203 of Vol. 614.

Dr. Bonn shows how the chief tried to have as many dependents of this class as possible, and how he might settle them on lands won by conquest, and so increase his wealth and his power of hiring mercenaries. Elaborate classifications of the different grades of non-freemen are given in our text books: Dr. Bonn takes the most important one to have been the Fuidhir, and treats of them at length.³⁵ The number of these dependents of the chiefs must have greatly increased during the confusion of the sixteenth century.

The last names in the list give us the professional classes, poets, historians, doctors, lawyers. In most Irish countries they held their lands free from all taxes and exactions. They ranked as members of the noble caste; and, in Tudor times, many of them possessed considerable wealth.

Of the names given the "Hegans" are the Mac Egans, a widely spread legal family, whose chief centre was in the Barony of Ormond, in Tipperary. In Muskerry they had lands close to Mashanaglass. The O'Dallies are, of course, the O'Dalys, whom we find as bards of Desmond, Muskerry, Carbery, and Thomond, as well as of the Earls of Desmond. In all these countries they had lands set apart for them. The O'Levys are possibly the modern family of Levis; the O'Donins are the Dineens.

The most striking point in this description of Muskerry is the enormous amount of land held by the chief as demesne

³⁵ Bonn. Vol. I, pp. 59, etc., p. 65. For the professional soldiers see Vol. I, p. 62.

—164½ ploughlands. In this Muskerry differs altogether from Desmond, where Mac Carthy Mór had at most seventy ploughlands, and from Carbery, where Mac Carthy Reagh had 70½ out of a total of 816 in Carbery proper. Now this demesne of the Lord of Muskerry was very nearly one-half of the whole territory, which, according to Cox and Smith, had an area of 367 ploughlands.

Again, the septs of the Mac Carthys had only 66 ploughlands, as compared with 299 held by various Mac Carthy septs in Carbery, while the only important subject clans, the O'Learys and O'Mahonys, held at the most only 93 ploughlands, as compared with 509 ploughlands held by the O'Mahonys, O'Donovans, etc., in Carbery and Kinelmeaky.

All these peculiar features probably come from the fact that Muskerry had to a great extent been won back from the Norman barons in the course of the fourteenth century.³⁶

It was probably the fact that so much of Muskerry was already in his hands as demesne that encouraged Cormac Mac Teige to try and obtain a grant of the whole for himself. He seems to have succeeded in part; for in 1578 he got what appears to be a grant of the whole country, mentioning Iveleary, Iflanloe, etc., among other lands granted, and saving to all subjects of the English nation their rights by English Law. This appears to exclude claims based on Irish tenure. But neither he nor his nephew, Sir Cormac Mac Dermot were able entirely to override the rights of the freeholders. The *Calendar of State Papers* for 1588 has a statement that the Lord of Muskerry was making claim to the lands of the O'Learys, who were really freeholders under him.

The Government must have taken note of these and other statements, for the grant to Sir Cormac Mac Dermot has a saving of the rights of all the Queen's subjects. How far this proved effectual can be seen from the *Down Survey*. In 1641 some thirty-five O'Learys, seven or eight O'Healys, four O'Herlihys, and a fairly large number of Mac Carthys held lands in Muskerry.³⁷

³⁶ Muskerry seems still to have paid taxes in 1346. Extract from *Pipe Rolls*, quoted in a note to Smith. *Journ. C. H. and A. Soc.*, Vol. III, p. 137. "Cantred of Muskerry, £3."

³⁷ The list of Forfeiting Proprietors in 1641 in O'Hart's *Landed Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland* gives these. By a misprint the Muskerry names are printed under the Barony of Imokilly. The *Down Survey* and the *Books of Survey and Distribution* confirm these figures, though we cannot be sure that some names are not reduplicated. The Royal Irish Academy copy of the *Books of Survey and Distribution* gives 38 O'Learys in the parish of Inchi-geelagh.

But it is plain that, except in the case of the O'Learys, only the principal men of the various subject clans had preserved their lands. Only one O'Long, described as O'Long, *i.e.*, chief of his name, appears in the lists for 1641. And of the Mac Carthys the greater number were near kinsmen of the ruling house, as I shall show later on.

The O'Mahonys of Muskerry had come to grief in some of the rebellions in Elizabeth's reign; and only three of the name appears as landholders in the *Books of Survey and Distribution*. Canon O'Mahony has shown how a fourth member of this clan had to struggle for his rights against the encroachments of the Lord of Muskerry.³⁸

There is a grant of Iflanloe to Sir W. Taaffe in the *Patent Rolls* of James I, 1605. Either this never took effect, probably because the grant to the Lord of Muskerry was held to override it, or Taaffe disposed of his claim to a certain Sir Thomas Hooper. For this latter seems to have sold twenty-three ploughlands of Iflanloe to Cormac, son of Sir Cormac Mac Dermod; at least, such is my reading of a passage of an Inquisition dated 17th of James I, which deals with the lands of this Cormac or Charles and his father.

Iflanloe corresponded with the parish of Kilmichael. Eastward the O'Mahony lands had spread over Kilmurry, and all or part of Moviddy. We are told that the areas were—Iflanloe, 27 or 29 ploughlands; Clan Conogher, 14 or 18, and Clan Fineen 16 or 19.³⁹ Canon O'Mahony does not attempt any farther to give the exact boundaries; but from the lands named in the claims referred to, it might be possible to map them out.

It seems clear from the will of Sir Cormac Mac Teige that he had dispossessed the sept of Cloghroe of their lands. For in his will he refers to Donoghe Mc Teige Mc Oyn Mc Carthy, Fynyn Mc Dermod Mc Oyn and Donoghe Mc Phelymy as having claims to the Tuath of Cloghroe, which he, the testator, now divides between two of his sons. For the sons are not only to pay yearly 13/4 to Donoghe Mc Teige Mc Oyn Mac Carthy during his life; but were also to reasonably agree for some rent or other allowance with the three persons whom I have named during

³⁸ *Journ. C. H. and A. Soc.*, Vol. XV, 2nd series, p. 15. In an Inq. 17th Jas. I there is mention of Cnogher Imagher claiming 26 pl. lds. named, and of Teig Mc Dermody Mc Mahowny claiming seven others. It also mentions a grant by the Lord of Muskerry of the lands of Balliomihill to Conogher Mac Fynyn O'Mahowney in 1618.

³⁹ The areas of the O'Mahony lands are differently stated in Vol. 614 and in Vol. 635 of the *Lambeth MSS.*

every their lives for any their challenges to any part of Cloghroe as Stephen Water and Donell Mc Oyn Ylloighey⁴⁰ will award.

Looking now to the geography of Muskerry, we find, from a map given in *Pacata Hibernia*, that, in the sixteenth century, the barony was divided into lesser divisions, corresponding, to a certain extent, with the modern parishes. Iveleary, the country of the O'Learys, lay around Lough Allua, and the source of the Lee, and corresponded on the whole with the parish of Inchigeelagh. In this district were three castles, Carrignacurragh, Carriganeelagh and Drumearragh.

East of the O'Learys were the three districts of Iflanloe, Clan Conogher and Clan Fyneen, held by the O'Mahonys, and corresponding to the present parishes of Kilmichael, Kilmurry, and part, at least, of Moviddy. I can find no notice of any castles belonging to them; those of Cloghda and Castlemore being the property of the Lord of Muskerry, who garrisoned them with the Mac Swinys. We are told by Carew that a certain Brian Mac Swiny purchased Cloghda.⁴¹

The Barrys appear to have claimed Iflanloe, possibly through a grant from the de Cogans. They held the parent O'Mahony land of Kinalea, and claimed Kinelmeaky also; though it is more than doubtful whether their claims to Iflanloe or Kinelmeaky were based on effective occupation.

The O'Longs held lands in the parish of Canaway, or Canaboy, the O'Herlihys in Ballyvourney, the O'Healihys in Donoughmore.

The map already referred to marks two subdivisions of Muskerry, north of the Lee, to which it gives the names Togh Ballyworny and Toghnedromin respectively. In the will of Sir Cormac Mac Teige⁴² we have mention of Twoyheneyblarney and Twoelochroe. Nicholas Browne mentions Twoghogee.

Under the uncouth spelling we can recognise the old *Tuath*, still existing in Muskerry as a political division, and sometimes corresponding to the modern civil parish. The document, to be soon referred to, on the dues payable to the tanist of Muskerry, names seven territories, besides those

⁴⁰ He was a Mac Swiny.

⁴¹ Cloghda was not "restored" to the Earl of Clancarthy by the Act of Settlement: neither was Castlemore.

⁴² The grant of 1578 to Sir Cormac Mac Teige mentions Tuone-rouskaghe: it occurs in an Inquisition of 17th of Jas. I under the form Twohneymouskeaghe.

of Iveleary and the O'Mahonys, in each of which the tanist had certain rights. One of these was Ballyvourny. Of the others several correspond with modern parishes.⁴³ We may assume that they also were Tuaths, probably representing old tribal divisions prior to the settlement of the Mac Carthys.

As I have said, a note to the *Down Survey* states that the name Muskerry was used to denote all the lands of the Lords of that name, and that, as their power increased or diminished, so did the bounds of the barony vary. Thus, Blarney, Cloghphilip, and Cloghroe were counted as in Muskerry, though almost cut off from the rest of the territory by the lands of the Barretts.

Some time during the nineteenth century the boundaries of the baronies were re-arranged, so as to do away with detached portions. The southern part of Barretts was added to Muskerry; and a new barony of Barretts was formed out of the northern portion of the old one, together with fragments of Muskerry and Fermoy.

Sir Cormac Mac Teige, 14th Lord of Muskerry, rendered great services to the Government during the Desmond rebellion. He had already received large grants of lands outside Muskerry, such as those of Mourne Abbey, a preceptory of the knights of St. John.

After the downfall of the Desmonds he came into possession of Carrignavar castle and the adjoining lands north of Cork. He also acquired Ballea castle, a little to the west of Carrigaline. All of these personal acquisitions went by his will to his sons.

With the acquisition of Carrignavar the lands of the Mac Carthys reached farther east than they had ever done since the days of Cormac Fionn. It is curious that Carrignavar still remains in Mac Carthy hands to the present day, almost the sole remnant of a vast heritage.⁴⁴

⁴³ The list, as printed in the *Carew Calendar*, 1600, p. 511, is Ballywourny, Downaghmore, Eanywry (*recte* Canaway), Aghy-bollig, Aghinagh, Ballywneyrane, and Aharlaghmore. The five first are names of modern civil parishes.

⁴⁴ Nicholas Browne cites Carrignavar as having been seized from the Roches by the Mac Carthys. Yet Carrignavar would seem to have been forfeited in the Desmond rebellion (*Cal. State Papers*, 1587, p. 261). Sir Cormac Mac Teige may have purchased after that rebellion; for there is a reference to it in his will which seems to imply that he had purchased it.

In the *Fiant*s, 1588, there is a direction for a grant of Blarney, and of the rest of Muskerry to Cormac Mac Dermot; and if, on examination, his title to Carrignavar, late in possession of Sir John of Desmond, be found correct, he is to have letters patent for it

The castles of the Mac Carthys of Muskerry and their subjects were numerous along the valley of the Lee and its tributaries. It is curious that we have no information as to how the great stronghold of Blarney came into Mac Carthy hands. Previous to the acquisition of Cloghphilip by Eoghan, brother of Cormac Laidher, Blarney must have been quite isolated from the other Mac Carthy possessions. Nor do we know how and when Cloghroe was acquired. In Elizabethan days the Tuaths of Blarney and Cloghroe were separated by part of the Barony of Barretts from the rest of Muskerry; there being only a narrow connecting neck with the Muskerry parish of Donoughmore.

Cloghroe is connected with the family of Lombard.

In the forty-second year of Edward III we find a certain Richard Oge Barrett claiming some of the Lombard lands on the ground of a grant made to him in the fortieth year of Edward III of a great tract of land recovered from the Irish by Lionel Duke of Clarence. But this grant was made in virtue of a proclamation that those "Anglici" who were expelled by the Irish were to return within forty days or forfeit.⁴⁵ Lombard proved that the lands in dispute had been held and inhabited by himself and his men at the time of the grant to Barrett, and so judgment was given in his favour.

Lombard produced a grant of the castle of Gynes and thirty carucates of land which, by reason of the forfeiture of a certain Dermot Mac Dermot, were seized into the King's hands, and because of non-residence of the Anglici had been granted to him for 40/- per annum.⁴⁶ This seems to be the origin of the Lombard title, and to prove that in the days of Edward III Cloghroe and the adjoining district had been held by a native Irishman as tenant *in capite*; for on his forfeiture the lands reverted to the King. Also, we have here evidence of the ebb and flow of the tide of conquest. In 1585 a jury found that Lombard was constable of the castle of Cloghroe for Edward III, and usurped possession of it, which manor was in the Crown. But in 1596 this finding was reversed, at the instance, apparently, of

also. It was granted to him in 1589 (Morrin: *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Eliz.).

In *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Jas. I, p. 399, there is a direction for a regrant to Charles Mac Cartie of Blarney, etc., and to confirm his title to the castle and lands of Gwynes *alias* Cloghroe, also of Carrignavar.

⁴⁵ This seems to have been in or before the time of Thos. de Rokeyby, Justiciar, 1366-67.

⁴⁶ I cannot fit this Dermot Mac Dermot into the Mac Carthy pedigree.

Cormac Mac Dermod; so that it would seem that he claimed through the Lombard title.

Blarney ranked, with Macroom and Kilcrea, as one of the chief residences of Mac Carthy of Muskerry. He also had Castlemore, near Moviddy, on or close to the site of the old Dundrinan, and Carrigadrohid, rising picturesquely from the waters of the Lee, memorable by the constancy of the martyred Bishop of Ross, in the days of Cromwell.

Castle Inch, on the Lee, near its junction with the Dripsey River, had been wrested from the Barretts by the Mac Carthys, and in 1600 was occupied by "Cormocke's mother,"⁴⁷ though the Barretts still kept up a claim to it. Further west were Cloghda, Mashanaglas, and Carrig Dermot Oge, held for the Lord of Muskerry by the Mac Swinys, who, before 1600, had turned their occupation of the two former into actual ownership.⁴⁸

In Tuath Cloghroe were the castles of Cloghroe and Cloghphilip; and, separated from the rest of Muskerry, was the castle of Carrignavar.

In the north-west of the Barony were Drishane and Kilmeedy, both near Millstreet. With the castle of Carrigaphooka, near Macroom, they belonged, with a great tract of intervening country, to the descendants of Dermod, son of Teige, the sixth Lord, and brother of Cormac Laidher and of Eoghan, of Cloghroe.⁴⁹ I hope to treat of this branch of the house of Muskerry in more detail later on.

Not far from Drishane, the *Down Survey* gives, in the parish of Kilcorney, a castle called Gorticlogh. This, as I shall show later, belonged to the Mac Carthy sept of "Shanekillie."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Cormac Mac Dermod ?

⁴⁸ Carew states that Owen Mac Swiny had purchased Mashanaglass, and Brian Mac Swiny Cloghda. An Inq. 17th of Jas. I. mentions a deed dated 1584, by which Cormac Mac Dermod conveyed the castle and lands of Mashanaglass to Donnell Mac Owen Mac Swiny, reserving £4 0s. 0d. a year of rent, and half the eyry of hawks, etc.

For a full account of these castles see articles by Mr. Gillman in *Journal of C. H. and A. Soc.*, Vol. I. Owen Mac Swiny's services to the Crown in the reigns of Elizabeth and James are specially mentioned in a letter of James I to Chichester in 1612.

⁴⁹ The list in the *Carew MSS.* mentions another castle. "Carrig-falcagh," as belonging to Owen Mc Teg Cartie, and adds in another hand: "he hath also the castle of Carrigepookie." This may be a mere reduplication of names for the same castle.

⁵⁰ The map in *Pacala Hibernia* gives a castle near Millstreet, Downyne, as belonging to Mac Donough. This appears in the grant to Sir Cormac Mac Teige as a separate manor; and by his will he left it to his brother Donough, as if he had acquired it as private

The head of the sept of Tuath na Dromin had the castle of Dundareirke, on a ridge between the Lee and the Sullane, not far from Macroom.

The castle of Carrignamuck, not far from Dripsey, was the usual residence of the tanist of Muskerry. Among the documents relating to this territory in the *Carew MSS* is one which gives a list of the rights and dues of the tanist.⁵¹ This is of interest, as otherwise we have but little or no information as to the position of these heirs to the Irish chieftainships.

The tanist had the castle of Carrignamuck for his residence, with 10½ ploughlands as demesne. He had also "reservations" on certain lands. In Iveleary he had a right to two days' and two nights' "refection" four times a year, or else two marks each time. He had similar "refections" in ten other districts named, the whole valued at 58 marks. Each sub-chief, as O'Leary, O'Healy, gave him £4 9s. 0d. when such sub-chief was inaugurated; and he had also various other small duties not specified.

There is a certain amount of confusion as to the origin of the Mac Carthys of Duhallow and of Muskerry. The *Four Masters* derive the former from Dermod, son of Cormac Fionn. The house of Muskerry is derived from Dermod Mór, who, according to most authorities, was the son of Cormac Mór, King of Desmond. But two pedigrees in the *Lambeth MSS.* make this Dermod to be son of Donnell Oge, who died in 1303.⁵²

If we can believe O'Hart, Dermod Mór was made Lord of Muskerry in 1353 by the English, and he died in 1368.⁵³

But there is a totally different account given in the *Carew MSS.*, calendared under the date 1617. According to this, Dermod Mór, son of Donnell Roe Mac Carthy Mór, was first

property. A note on a Muskerry pedigree in *Lam. MSS.*, Vol. 635, says that this Donough was an illegitimate son of Teige, 11th Lord.

⁵¹ This document is signed by Donough Mac Cormac. It is headed "A note of Cormock Mc Teige's living in Muskry when Sir Dermod Mc Teige held the Lordship." It speaks of the living, which was incident, and due time out of mind as an annuity and living to the second and nearest brother to the Lord of Muskry. But in reality it seems to have been the provision for the tanist, whether brother or nephew.

⁵² The *Exchequer Memoranda*, Ed. III, speak of the depredations of a certain Mac Dermod, also referred to as Dermod Mac Dermod. This possibly may be meant for Dermod Mór.

⁵³ Against these dates must be set the assertion that the third Lord, Dermod Mór's son, was murdered in Cork by the Barrys in 1375 (Smith).

Lord both of Duhallow and of Muskerry.⁵⁴ He was murdered and succeeded by his nephew, Dermot, son of Donnell Oge Mac Carthy Mór; and, after the usual complicated series of family murders, the two countries were finally separated by an agreement of the gentlemen of the country, Donough, son of Dermot Mór, getting Duhallow, and Teige, son of Dermot, son of Donnell Oge, getting Muskerry.

If we can believe Carew, the Mac Donough Mac Carthys kept up the custom of family murders. The ninth Lord murdered the eighth, the fourteenth Lord murdered the tenth, the servants of the twelfth murdered the fourteenth Lord.⁵⁵

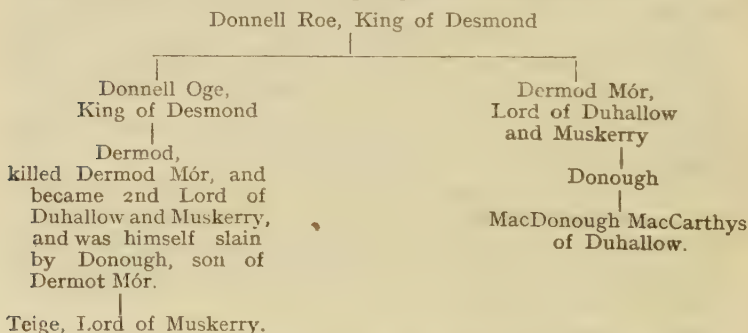
Though there is no general list extant of the dues payable to the Lord of Muskerry by the subject clans, we get some information from inquisitions which throw further light on the nature and variety of the Lord's rights.

Thus out of certain named towns and lands of the Cantred and territory of Iveleary, containing nineteen ploughlands, Charles, or Cormac, Mac Carthy, son and heir of Sir Cormac Mac Dermot, had, granted from his Majesty, the yearly rents of twenty and four beefs and £7 2s. 3d. sterling.⁵⁶ He also had for all rents, duties, etc., due out of

⁵⁴ The *Pipe Roll* of Cloyne certainly names Dermicius Mac Carthy as holding lands in Aghabulloge and Clondrohid, both in Muskerry, and in Dromyn and Kilcorcran, which appear to be in Duhallow. The dates would correspond with the statement in the *Lambeth MSS.* as to a son of Donnell Oge being Lord of both districts.

⁵⁵ *Carew Cal.*, 1617, p. 349.

The following table gives the pedigree set out above:—



I do not think this account has any foundation in fact.

⁵⁶ *Inq.* 17th of Jas. I.

It is not clear whether the meaning is that the lands named as liable amounted to 19 ploughlands, or that Iveleary contained that number. The *Carew MSS.* say Iveleary had 30 ploughlands in one document (Vol. 635); in another that it had only 18 (Vol. 614). Possibly only 18 or 19 ploughlands were "chargeable lands."

certain towns and lands named, "and out of the rest of the lands of Towneydromane, containing in all $19\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, the yearly rents as by way of rent charge of forty-two in-calfed cows and two-third partes of a cow, ten muttons and *vid.* sterling."

"And so often as the said Charles or his heirs shall prefer annie his daughters or his sisters in marriage there is issuinge out of the said last nyneteen ploughlands the number of sixteene cowes with a proportionable number of labourers, garrans, worke and wages as hath antiently bin allotted and divided upon the teritories of ould Muskrie, and also to pay to the rising out and general hosting proportionably for his Majesty's service."

Out of the O'Longs' lands in Canaboy he had £4 10s. 0d., assessed on $4\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, and similarly he had £11 a year from 11 ploughlands held by the O'Herlihys in Ballyvourney.

Out of Mashanaglass he had £4 yearly rent, and the moiety of the *eyry* of hawkes, with free liberty of ingress, egress and regress for him and his heirs and their wives to enter and lodge in said castle as often as he and they shall please.

Elsewhere we find 15 cows and 2 sheep of annual rent, 2 cows to help to marry the daughter of the Lord of Muskerry, the labour of 4 oxen and 4 horses on every day from 1st May to the last day of July, and when the Lords build a castle or stone structure the payment of three parts of a *faber lignarior*' and of a *faber lapidarior*' for the same period—what seems to be a combination of free and servile services—all issuing out of two ploughlands in the district of Tuath na Dromin.⁵⁷

To conclude this survey of the Lordship of Mac Carthy Mór there is still to be noticed the small territory of the Barretts, a family of Norman-Welsh origin, mentioned in 1576 by Sir Henry Sidney among the "ruined reliques of the ancient English." From the Survey we learn that they paid £11 yearly to Mac Carthy Mór. From the *State Papers* we find that the Earls of Desmond claimed a yearly rent from them of twelve marks "half face money," though the gentry and freeholders of the territory declared that they were liable to no rent or exaction except one rose payable at mid-summer.⁵⁸ The Lords of Muskerry probably took something from them, too; for the will of Sir Cormac

⁵⁷ Cloghkinagh, Coolekeadigan, Inshinegapple, Gortnimeale, Inshindowrigg.

⁵⁸ There are references to the dues payable to the Earl of Desmond by the Barretts in *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1588-92, p. 21; *Car. Cal.*, 1594, p. 104; *Ibid.*, 1600, p. 373.

Mac Teige contains an allusion to his part of Mac William's lands, Mac William being apparently the Irish title for the chief of the Barretts.

The territory held by this family in the sixteenth century was of most irregular shape, a fact due apparently to encroachments of the Mac Carthys. Nicholas Browne cites Barrett as being deprived of Castlehinch, among the examples of English freeholders who had been forced "by endurance of imprisonment and such like" to make their estates in law to the Mac Carthys; and we have already seen how Eoghan of Cloghroe, in 1488, acquired Cloghphillip from John son of Richard son of Symon de Rede Bared. No consideration for this grant is mentioned; but "the due income of the Irish princes out of the first issue of the said vil, viz., ten pence yearly," is recorded, which seems to imply that the land of the Barretts had already been brought under tribute to Mac Carthy.

The Barretts were of small account in Elizabethan days; but they still retained two important castles—Ballincollig, not far from Cork; and Castlemore Barrett, boldly situated on a hill overlooking the borders of the O'Callaghans, close to where the Lyre and the Clydagh join.⁵⁹

There is a well-known story of how Hugh O'Neill, marching by this castle, asked who was its owner. He was told one Barrett, a good Catholic, whose ancestors had held it for four hundred years. "No matter, I hate the English churl, as if he came but yesterday," was O'Neill's reply.

It seems rather improbable that such an extremely politic person as Hugh O'Neill would ever have uttered such words, even though they are recorded by Smith on the authority of Cox.⁶⁰

Inquisitions, and the *Cromwellian Surveys* reveal the existence, in the territory of Barretts, of a sept of the Mac Carthys, who otherwise make no figure in history. Their chief was called Mac Donnell, anglicised Mac Daniel; and their country was called Clan Macdonnell. It is probable that many Cork families called Mac Donnell, and some called Daniel or Daniels, are really Mac Carthys of this sept.

Their lands were in the north-west of South Barretts, largely within the present parish of Iniscarragh, some portions being in the modern Donoughmore, Magourney and

⁵⁹ The map of Muskerry in *Pacata Hibernia* shows other castles: Garrycloyne, to the north of Cork, and Ballynedly and Cloghin Me Ulick, in South Barretts.

⁶⁰ Smith says that this barony had 86 ploughlands and 26,282 acres.

Aghinagh. A considerable extent belonged in demesne to the chief of the sept; from other lands he had chief rents. From most of the lands held by this sept chief rents were also payable to the heirs of Richard Oge Barrett, usually at the rate of $13/4$ a ploughland.⁶¹

In addition to the lands held by members of this sept in 1641, we get in an Inquisition of the 18th year of James I a list of lands held by a certain Cormock Mc Owen Mc Cormock Mc Teig Mc Carthy, all of which are said to be in the territory of Barretts, because they lay within limits specified in *Letters Patent* of Edward III, by which he granted to Richard Oge Barrett lands recovered by the strong hand by Lionel Duke of Clarence from the Irish. These lands were given to Richard and his heirs, to be held by the rent of one rose.⁶²

Here we apparently have the origin of the power of the Barretts in East Muskerry, although they seem to have first settled in Cork in the early days of the Anglo-Norman Invasion.

In addition to a long list of lands in his possession, Cormac had chief rents from other lands held by various members of the sept. From this we may conclude that he was chief of the sept.

O'Hart derives this sept from Doncadh an Droman, son of Cormac Fionn, King of Desmond in the first half of the thirteenth century; but, as usual, he gives no authority.

According to the Inquisition there was a rival claimant to the headship of the sept, a certain Daniel Mac Teige Mac Donnell Mac Carthy, who, on Cormac's death, seized a large portion of his lands, to the detriment of his son and heir, Owen. The Cromwellian Surveys speak of Daniel Mac Carthy, *alias* Mac Daniel, showing that he was then looked on as chief of his name; and a large portion of the lands held in 1620 or '21 by Cormac had passed into the possession of Sarsfield, Lord Kilmallock.

The *State Papers* have several references to the Barretts which throw an interesting light on the confusion between English and Irish modes of succession which often obtained among the "degenerate" Anglo-Norman families, and the opportunities which this confusion gave to unscrupulous seekers after "defective titles" in the days of James I.

As usual, the different *ex parte* statements are almost impossible to reconcile with one another. In 1600 we find a certain Andrew Barrett claiming Ballinecollig, and a small

⁶¹ This is obviously the Richard Oge Barrett who figures in the *Exchequer Memoranda*, Ed. III.

⁶² This grant figures in the *Exchequer Memoranda*, Ed. III.

cantred of land, in right of Catherine, his wife, whose father and grandfather had been captains of the country.⁶³ He had, he said, been forcibly dispossessed by Edmund Barrett, deceased, and his son William, "a notorious traitor." But we find that, in 1591, Andrew had assaulted Ballincollig, and had "expulsed" Edmund from the castle.⁶⁴

Going farther back we find that Catherine had obtained livery of many lands, belonging to her father, James, last Barrett of Barrett's country. Yet, in 1600, Edmund's son, William, is spoken of in three different *Fiants* as if he was Lord.⁶⁵

Ultimately, Catherine and Andrew obtained possession of the Lordship; but in 1611, some person, not named, disclosed an ingenious plan for proving that the real title to the lands was in the Crown, because William, the rightful heir, according to English law, was then an exile with the Archduke in Flanders and so guilty of treason.⁶⁶

The story put forward was that James "Bulleragh" Barrett, Lord of Barrett's country, had had three sons, James "Liegh," Richard, and William. Apparently James "Liegh" succeeded. But, on his death, Oliverus, eldest son of the youngest son, William, claimed to be right heir-at-law according to English law, on the plea that his uncles had left no legitimate children—we must suppose that both Richard and William were now dead.

His claim was contested by John Fitz Richard, though the latter was illegitimate. Oliver was induced to hand over the castle of Ballincollig to Sir John Perrott, who pledged himself to determine the suit by a fixed day, or in default to restore the castle. He did neither; and Oliver in anger joined with "the then arch-traitor, James Fitz Maurice," and was slain in rebellion.⁶⁷

Then, in order to defeat the Queen's title, Edmund, next brother to Oliver, agreed that John Fitz Richard should

⁶³ *Car. Cal.*, 1600, pp. 372 and 373.

⁶⁴ *Egmont MSS.*, Vol. I, p. 27. In 1592 Andrew, with others, signed the composition in lieu of cess on behalf of the Barony of Barretts (*Car. Cal.*, 1592, p. 69). It does not appear what relation Andrew was to the other Barretts mentioned above.

⁶⁵ He is called William Barrett, *alias* Barrett of Ballincollig, *Fiants*, 6431, 6465, 6764. This is the usual way of indicating a "captain of his nation."

⁶⁶ *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1611, pp. 139, 159, 174. *Car. Cal.*, 1611, pp. 259-62. The Lord Carew, in a letter to Sir D. Sarsfield, speaks of a project put forward "by a man of good understanding." Sarsfield's answer rather suggests that he took Carew himself to be the prime mover.

⁶⁷ This must refer to the first Geraldine Rising in 1569 and following years, for Perrott was President of Munster from 1570 to 1573.

have the Lordship, reserving a good portion to himself. But Edmund's younger brother, Beany, murdered John Fitz Richard and John's brother, Edmund, and was duly hanged for the crime. Then, the document of 1611 goes on to say: Edmund succeeded to the Lordship, which he held until he died. His son, William, followed; and he being now an outlaw in Flanders, the Crown was duly entitled to his lands.⁶⁸

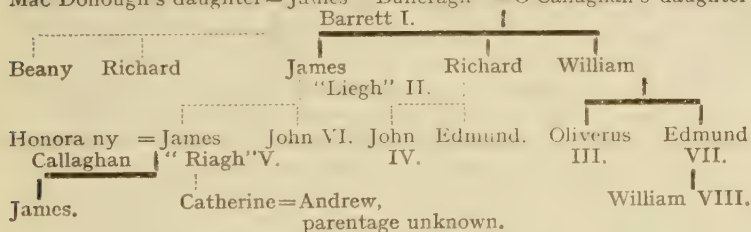
The claims of Catherine were to be brushed aside on the grounds, first, that her father, James Riagh, was illegitimate, because his father, James Liegh, had been twice married, and his first wife was alive when his son was born of the second wife, Johan Lacy; and, secondly, that Catherine herself was illegitimate, because her father first married Honora ny Callaghan, from whom he eloped, and afterwards married her again in the Abbey of Mourne. Then he put her out again, and married Margery Roche, by whom he had Catherine. "The said Honora is still living."

We know that this tale is false in part. For in 1584 James Barrett is spoken of in more than one official document as having been Lord; and livery of the castles of Castlemore and Castleinch and many lands named was granted to Catherine in 1588.⁶⁹

But the positive statements about the illegitimacy of Catherine, or, at any rate, of her father, may have some truth. For incidentally we come on a statement, in 1600,

⁶³ Rough Pedigree.

Mac Donough's daughter = James "Bulleragh" = O'Callaghan's daughter



The above rough pedigree aims at showing the succession to the Lordship, as far as it can be gathered from the various conflicting statements. The numerals give the order of succession; dotted lines denote alleged illegitimacy. Edmund, son of William, had, according to Sarsfield, three younger brothers, one of whom, Beany, murdered John Fitz Richard. Liegh or Leigh is for Irish *liath*: Riagh = *riabhach*.

⁶⁹ *Car. Cal.*, 1884, pp. 386, 390, 391, and *Fiants*, No. 5183, Castleinch was certainly in the possession of the Mac Carthys of Muskerry at this time, but this *Fiant* shows that the Barretts still claimed it.

that her father and his brother, John, had obtained the Lordship by the interference of the Earl of Desmond.⁷⁰

Andrew and Catherine had powerful friends—Sir Dominick Sarsfield, Lord Chief Justice, and later on created Lord Kilmallock, who was a Protestant, had acquired by purchase and inheritance large estates in Barrett's country; and was said to have planned a marriage between his son and Catherine's daughter—and they kept their lands.

Their eldest son, Sir James, was dead in 1630. His son, Sir Andrew, was M.P. for Cork in 1639. He, or at least his son, William, was a Protestant, for their lands are described as unforfeited in the *Down Survey*, and in the *Books of Survey and Distribution*.

William, only son of Sir Andrew, was made a baronet in 1665; and died without children in 1672. By his will he left his fee-simple property to his mother's brother, John St. Leger, and his entailed estates to his second cousin, John Barrett, grandson of the fifth son of Andrew and Catherine.

St. Leger was appointed as guardian of John Barrett, and took advantage of his position to seize most of the lands. A lawsuit followed, of which a full account is given in Vol. XVI of the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*.

John seems ultimately to have recovered part of the family property, and to have been M.P. for Mallow in the Parliament of King James II. He is probably the Colonel John Barrett who raised a regiment of foot for King James, and whose estates, amounting to 12,000 acres, were confiscated by King William. This Colonel John Barrett became Colonel of the *Gardes du Roi Jacques*, and was killed in 1593 at Landen.⁷¹

Sarsfield, in one of his communications, states that there were certain freeholders in the Barony of Barretts who were as ancient in their tenancies as Barrett was in his seigniorship of their lands. The names of many of these occur in the records of 1641. Besides about seven Barretts, and the various Mac Donnell Mac Carthys, there were citizens of Cork, such as Terrys, Goulds and Coppingers among the landholders in this barony. The castle and lands of Ballincollig had come into the possession of Dominick Coppinger.

⁷⁰ *Car. Cal.*, 1600, p. 373. John is not mentioned elsewhere, except in the pedigree supplied by Sarsfield to Carew.

⁷¹ Article on Barrett of Castlemore, *Jour. C. H. and A. Soc.*, Vol. XVI, 2nd series, 1910, p. 37. Also in same number an article on the castles of Ballincollig and Carrigrohane, p. 1. Also a notice of the Barretts of Castlemore in Colonel Grove White's *Historical and Topographical Notes on Buttevant, etc.*, p. 282.

The Lord Kilmallock, son of the Chief Justice, Sarsfield, mentioned above, owned a very extensive property, which he duly forfeited as an Irish Papist, showing that the profession of Protestantism by the first Lord Kilmallock, had not affected the religion of his descendants. This account of the family of Barrett closes my survey of the Lordship of Mac Carthy Mór.

They are all gone. Mac Caura Mór is dead,
 Mac Caura of the Lee is finishèd,
 Mac Caura of Kanturk joined clay to clay,
 And gat him gone, and bides as deep as they.

6.—THE PEDIGREE OF MAC CARTHY MÓR.

IN the following chapter I endeavour to give a correct account of the descent of the main line and of the subsidiary stocks of the great house of Mac Carthy Mór.

The history, and especially the descent, of the chiefs of this house, are interesting as showing us, in the first place, a family which rose from comparative obscurity just before the Anglo-Norman invasion, and which, after that event, increased in extent of actual landed possessions.

In the twelfth century, outside possibly a few mensal lands set apart for the support of the provincial king, the Mac Carthys had no lands in Cork or Kerry; and their home land round Cashel cannot have been of any great extent.¹ In the sixteenth century an extremely large proportion of the two counties just mentioned was held by Mac Carthys who could trace their descent to the Dermot Mac Carthy who ruled the "Kingdom of Cork" at the coming of Henry II.

Their rise to greatness can be paralleled in the still more remarkable case of the O'Neills of Ulster.

¹ Eoganacht Cashel corresponded to the present barony of Middlethird.

Gofraidh Fionn O'Dálaigh speaks of the seventeen *tuaths* of Cashel. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the O'Donoghues and the O'Sullivans shared the district round Cashel with the Mac Carthys; the O'Sullivans being seated round Knockgraffon. The O'Donoghues of Eoghanacht Cashel are quite distinct from those of Eoghanacht Loch Lein in Kerry, who are a branch of the Ui Eachach. In 1078, Conor O'D. is called heir of Cashel. Callaghan Caiseal, great-grandfather of Carthagh, had been king of Munster about the middle of the tenth century. For three centuries before Callaghan none of his ancestors in the direct line had gained this dignity.

The succession to the headship of the family is also noteworthy. Either through deliberate policy, or by a series of lucky accidents, rule passed for over two centuries direct from father to son.² The clan and its subjects escaped, therefore, from the constant civil wars which seem inseparable from that mode of succession by election which prevailed in Ireland, and to which Elizabethan English writers have given the name succession by Tanistry.

But, perhaps to secure this direct succession, the younger sons of the head of the house obtained for themselves in each generation extensive districts as subordinate lordships, and transmitted them to their descendants, who in some cases broke away from subjection to the senior line. Hence we find that while, in the sixteenth century, the lands ruled by the Mac Carthys were extensive and populous, the heads of the family never played a part in Irish affairs comparable to that played by the O'Neills, the O'Donnells, or the O'Briens.³

The pedigrees of the Mac Carthys accessible in print differ from one another, and all seem to be more or less inaccurate.⁴

² From Donnell Roe, who died in 1302, to Donnell, who died in 1508, there is an uninterrupted succession from father to son.

³ Mac Carthy Mór ruled over more than 2,000 square miles, Mac Carthy Reagh over more than 600. About one-half of this area was in the actual possession of the chiefs or of the various septs of the MacCarthy clan.

⁴ We have a pedigree printed in Cox's *Regnum Corcagense*; and another among the pedigrees given in the appendix to Keating (O'Mahony's ed., New York, 1866). Then there is the genealogy compiled by M. Lainé for Count Mac Carthy Reagh. It is called *Genéalogie de la maison Mac Carthy*, and was published at Paris in 1834. Cronnelly, in his *History of the Clan Eoghan* (Dublin, 1864), founds many of his statements on Lainé. In the *Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Mór*, by Daniel Mac Carthy, there is a pedigree professing to be founded on Cronnelly and Lainé; but it is full of manifest absurdities as to dates.

The pedigree given by Lainé can be shown to be unreliable. It conflicts in some parts with the evidence of the *Annals*. For instance, it puts the death of Carthagh, from whom the family name is derived, in 1098, and of his son "Moragh" in 1110. It calls the sons of King Cormac "kings of both Munsters," which they certainly were not. His order of succession differs materially from that given in the Irish annals. Above all, he gives to several of the family extraordinary long spans of life—e.g., he says that "Donogh Cairthanagh King of Desmond was deposed in 1310, at the age of more than 100 years"—the Irish annals making no mention, that I can find, of this king or of his deposition.

Then, while he professes to know the dates of the birth of the Mac Carthys of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, he omits them in the case of those of later date. Cronnelly unfortunately follows without criticising him.

O'Hart gives a pedigree differing from Cronnelly, but, as usual, cites no authorities,

In the Carew collection at Lambeth there are several MSS. pedigrees, both of the main line, and of several of the branch lines, which I have consulted. But these differ slightly among themselves; and can be shown from the Irish annals to be unreliable.

My effort, then, is basing myself on the notices of the family in the *Annals of Loch Cé* and of *Ulster*, and supplementing these from the *Annals of the Four Masters*, to provide a coherent account of the succession of the chiefs; and at the same time, from the various pedigrees to show the relationship to the heads of the house of the different subordinate branches.⁵

Carthagh, son of Saorbhrethagh, or Justin, from whom the clan takes its surname, was burned in 1045 in a fiery house by the grandson of Longhargan MacDonneuan *cum multis nobilibus ustis*.⁶ He is described in the *Annals of Loch Cé* as King, and in those of the *Four Masters* as Lord of Eoghanacht Caisil—i.e., the district round Cashel.

His grandson, Cormac, appears as King of South Munster, and, for a time at least, of all Munster. It has been asserted that he was also Bishop of Cashel; for the *Annals of Lough Cé* call him *Espug-Rig n Ereann*. The editor of these annals does not think that this designation is sufficient authority for holding him to have really been a bishop. His reign from 1124 to 1138 was a troubled one; revolts of his own subjects, headed by his brother Donough, and the attacks of Turlough O'Connor harassed him; and on one occasion even drove him from the throne into retirement among the monks of Lismore. But it has left a lasting monument—the gem of Hiberno-Romanesque architecture known as Cormac's Chapel, on the rock of Cashel.⁷

The pedigrees in *Lambeth MSS.*, Vols. 626 and 635, differ slightly from one another, and materially from the printed ones. They both can be shown to be in some respects in absolute contradiction with the *Annals*. There are a number of pedigrees of the various branches of the MacCarthys in Vols. 626 and 635, but they practically all contain the same errors, making Carthagh, from whom the family took its name, father of King Cormac, builder of Cormac's Chapel, and omitting Donnell Oge II, son and successor of Cormac Mór.

⁵ Judge Trant Mac Carthy has published a very copious account of the Clan Carthaigh in the *Mac Carthys of Munster*. But he does not critically examine his sources, and ignores the difficulties which they present. In some cases he accepts as true what can be shown to be doubtful or incorrect.

His work is very valuable for the period subsequent to 1600, as he has collected much new matter, and corrected errors on the part of former writers.

⁶ *Annals of Loch Cé*.

⁷ If we may rely on the *Dublin Annals of Inisfallen*, Cormac

Although Cormac, for a great part of his reign, was hostile to Turlough O'Connor and friendly to the O'Briens, yet, on the whole, there is evidence that the rise of the family to the Kingship of South Munster was, in part at least, due to the desire of the O'Conors of Connaught to set up a counterpoise in Munster to the power of the O'Briens. Muireadhach, son of Carthagh, and father of Cormac, is called Lord of Eoghanacht Caisil by O'Hart. The *Annals of Ulster*, which put his death in 1092,⁸ call him King of Eoghanacht Caisil, and there is nothing to show that he ever held more extensive rule. In 1118, Turlough O'Connor set up Tadhg Mac Carthy as King of Desmond. Canon O'Mahony, in his exhaustive study of the O'Mahonys, printed in the *Journal of the Cork Archæological Society* in 1906 and following years, shows that from 845 to 1118 the kingship of Desmond had been constantly held by the Ui Eachach, the tribe whose chief clan in later days were the O'Mahonys.⁹ Turlough may have thought that by setting up a king from a comparatively obscure clan he

played the leading rôle in Munster after the death of Teige until 1127, when he was deposed by Turlough O'Connor, and his brother Donough put in his place. Then Munster was divided between Donough and Conor na Catharach O'Brien. The *Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen* attribute Cormac's fall to the revolt of his subjects, especially of the Ui Eachach, and give the year as 1126. But soon afterwards Conor O'Brien revolted against Turlough, and took Cormac from his retirement, and set him up as King of Desmond. Then in 1134 Cormac quarrelled with the O'Briens, and attacked them. Later on he appears to have been again on the side of Conor O'Brien against the men of Connaught and Leinster. He was murdered in 1138 by O'Connor Kerry; leaving Conor as uncontested supreme King of Munster.

⁸ The *Annals of Ulster* also have, under 1093, Donnchadha Mac C. King of Eoghanacht Caisil was slain. Cronnelly says Muireadhach was born in 1011, and calls him King of Desmond. He gives him two sons, Donough whom he calls King of Desmond, and Cormac, born in 1054, King of the two Munsters about 1128. Thus Muireadhach would have died at the age of 81, and Cormac been murdered at the age of 84; Cormac's son Dermot would, according to Cronnelly, have been 87 in 1185 when he was slain. So from the birth of Muireadhach to the death by violence of his grandson we have a period of 174 years!

⁹ It might be more accurate to say that, strictly speaking, there was no kingship of Desmond until the eleventh century. It would rather appear that the various tribal kings in what are now Cork and Kerry were directly subject to the King of Cashel. The most influential tribe in Co. Cork was certainly the Ui Eachach; but it does not appear that their kings had any authority in South Kerry or over a large part of Co. Cork. The theory that there was a kingdom of North Munster and another of South Munster, with a head king over both, at Cashel, gets no support from the *Book of Rights*, and but little from the annals until the eleventh century. The majority of the Eoghanacht clans were in Tipperary and Limerick.

would have more control over South Munster than if the kingship was left with the family which had held it for so long a period.

According to Canon O'Mahony and to MSS. pedigrees at Lambeth, Tadhg, O'Connor's nominee, was son of Carthagh. If so, he must have been at least seventy-three years of age when he was made king. This seems, to say the least of it, improbable. He died in 1124, seventy-nine years after Carthagh's death.¹⁰ Later on we shall come on several startling statements of the genealogists as to the ages attained by various members of the family; and the entries in the annals show that they were an exceptionally long-lived race. It is certain, also, that Cathal Crobh Derg, son of Turlough O'Connor, survived his father for sixty-eight years. But it seems unlikely that Turlough would have set up as king in a time of turmoil a man who had reached what, in the Middle Ages, was extreme old age.

Cormac Mac Carthy was murdered "in his own house by treachery" in 1138,¹¹ leaving several sons. Next year the Clan Carthaig was expelled from Munster by the race of O'Brien, say the *Four Masters*.

One of Cormac's sons, Dermot, ultimately assumed the sovereignty of Desmond by the help of the Connaughtmen.¹² Many years of confusion followed, as Turlough O'Connor, and after him his son Ruaidhri, strove to bend the O'Briens to their yoke. In 1151, the decisive battle of Moinmór crushed for a time the O'Brien power. After this battle

¹⁰ But it seems certain that Tadhg was not son, but grandson, of Carthagh. The Rev. R. N. Long, in an article on Cashes and Emly in the *Journal of the Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 1900, says there is still extant a reliquary of St. Lachtain with the inscription "Pray for Tadhg, son of Mac Carthy for the King"—i.e., the word king is in apposition to Tadhg. And there is a further request to pray for "Cormac, son of Mac Carthy the Righ Damhna." So that Tadhg would be son of Muireadhach and brother of Cormac. The *Annals of the Four Masters* speak of Tadhg Mac Carthaig, using Mac Carthaig apparently as a surname. The *Annals of Ulster* call him Mac MicCarrthaig—i.e., grandson of C.

¹¹ *Four Masters*.

¹² In 1144 Donough, brother of Cormac, attempted to gain the sovereignty of Munster, but was captured and handed over to Turlough O'Brien, who imprisoned him. He died soon after. In 1150 Dermot appears in alliance with the Connaughtmen, and again next year at the time of the battle of Moinmór. This battle gave him the supremacy over South Munster. In 1152 the province was divided between Teige Glé O'Brien and Dermot Mac Carthy. Turlough O'Brien, who, from 1142 to the battle of Moinmór, had been King of Munster, ultimately recovered North Munster. He died in 1167, and, after a short interval, Munster was divided between his son Donnell Mór and the sons of Cormac Mac Carthy. (*Annals of Ulster*, 1168).

there was no longer a Kingdom of Munster; the O'Briens ruled the north, Dermod Mac Carthy the south of the province.¹³

In 1168, the *Annals of Ulster* tell us that Munster was divided into two between Donnell O'Brien and the sons of Cormac Mac Carthy. Next year saw the landing of the Anglo-Norman invaders. The chroniclers of the latter speak of Dermod, son of Cormac, as ruler of the "Kingdom of Cork," and of Donnell O'Brien as ruler of the "Kingdom of Limerick." Cashel and the district round it seem definitely to have passed under O'Brien rule; for the invaders treated them as part of the Kingdom of Limerick.¹⁴ In 1101 Mortogh O'Brien had given the royal fortress of Cashel to the Church. In 1182, Donnell Mór O'Brien founded Holy Cross Abbey. Thurles seems to have been looked on as part of his dominions. The grant to De Cogan and FitzStephen of "the Kingdom of Cork" gives its bounds as from Lismore to Brandon Head in Kerry. If this is an attempt to define its limits on the north we must take it that the modern Tipperary and Limerick did not form part of it.

Dermod maintained himself with varying success against the invaders; but was slain in 1185 by Theobald Walter, ancestor of the house of Ormond.

Dermod had at least three sons. Cormac, the eldest, rebelled against his father in 1177 and imprisoned him, but was himself slain by the O'Donoghues. On account of this rebellion, Cormac's descendants were excluded from the succession; but a pedigree in Lambeth gives to Cormac a son, Owen, and to Owen a son, Tadhg Roe, from whom it derives the Clan Teige Roe in Carbery, with its two sub-

¹³ M. Lainé assigns to Cormac a son Tadhg, "King of both Munsters," who died in 1155, and says that Dermod became King of both Munsters in 1167. But this conflicts with the Irish annals.

¹⁴ In 1206 an enquiry was ordered as to whether the castle of Kilmehal and certain lands, amongst them Slevardah, Cumsey and Heyghanacassel, and the cantred in which the castle of Harfinan is situate, were in the Kingdom of Limerick, or in that of Cork. If in Cork, they were to be taken into the Justiciar's hands as demesne of the King. The districts named above are the modern baronies of Slieveardagh and Middle Third, and probably Iffa and Offa West, now in Co. Tipperary. In later days we never hear any suggestion that these lands were part of the Kingdom of Cork, and from John's dealings with these lands the decision probably was that they formed part of the Kingdom of Limerick.

On the other hand, "Killede," granted by FitzStephen to Philip de Barry as part of the Kingdom of Cork, is now identified with Killeedy, in south-west Co. Limerick. It formed part of Ui Conaill Gabhra.

divisions, Sliocht Fynin and Sliocht Shane,¹⁵ which, in the sixteenth century, held a considerable district, in Carbery, near the head of Dunmanus Bay.

Cronnelly, however, ascribes to Dermod another son, Tadhg Roe, from whom he derives Clan Tadhg Roe.¹⁶

From Donnell Mór, who succeeded Dermod in whatever was left of his kingdom, descend nearly all of the many septs of the Mac Carthy house. The *Annals of Loch Cé* tell us that in 1196 he expelled the invaders from Limerick, and that he died in 1206. From the same source we learn that in 1209 Finghin, son of Diarmuid, son of Cormac, King of Desmond, was slain by his own people.¹⁷

A period of confusion followed, in which various Mac Carthys contended for the fast vanishing kingdom. To internal conflicts were added attacks from the Anglo-Norman invaders, and, above all, from the O'Briens. Dermod Cluasach, eldest son of Donnell Mór, successfully resisted a combined attack by Donough Cairbrech O'Brien and the foreigners in 1214; but next year he and his next brother, Cormac Fionn, quarrelled, and the English incastellated a large district in Kerry.

Dermod, in spite of quarrels with his brothers, maintained himself on the whole as king from 1209 to his death at Dun Droighnan, in Muskerry, in 1230. In 1224 he is mentioned as joining in a hosting of the foreigners and Gael of Erin against the son of Hugo (de Lacy) and Aedh O'Neill. From this and from the fact that he was married to Petronilla de Bloët, of a Norman family, we may infer that for the latter part of his life at least he had been on friendly terms with the invaders.¹⁸

It was possibly during the reign of this Dermod that took

¹⁵ Vol. 635.

¹⁶ According to Lainé and Cronnelly, Dermod's sons were Cormac, Donnell Mór, Muirheartach, slain by the O'Driscolls in 1179, and Tadhg Roe. But Finghin, successor of Donnell Mór, was certainly a son of Dermod's.

¹⁷ This entry effectually disposes of O'Hart's statement that Finghin was son of Cormac and brother of King Dermod. Lainé seems responsible for the error.

¹⁸ A Lambeth pedigree and Lainé, and Cronnelly following him, and later writers following Cronnelly, say that Petronilla was the widow of the old King Dermod, who had been slain in 1185, thirty-two years before the document referring to her. In *Life and Letters*, the original Latin is quoted, *habere faciat Petronillae Bloët maritagium suum quod Thos. Bloët frater ejuseidem Petronillae dedit cum Dermot Magarthy Rege de Corke, viro suo*. In the *Cal. Docs., Ir.*, 1217, this is translated "the king orders that Petronilla de Bloët, wife of Dermot Magarthy, King of Cork, is to have her marriage which her brother Thomas gave her." There is nothing to show that she was the widow of Dermot, and if *maritagium* could mean *marriage portion*, the entry becomes intelligible.

place the great migration of the O'Sullivans and their kinsmen from the plains of Tipperary to the glens and mountain fastnesses of Kerry.

Just as the O'Donovans and other clans of Limerick, flying before the O'Briens, found new settlements south of the Bandon River, so the Tipperary men, under pressure of the invaders advancing up the Suir, abandoned their homes.

We, unfortunately, have only the scantiest of notices concerning this migration; in fact, we have little to go on beyond the actual state of affairs in the sixteenth century. Then we find that the clans which had originally occupied the Barony of Bere and Bantry in Cork, and the districts of Kerry south of the Lakes of Killarney and the River Laune, had disappeared as landowners; and that in their stead the O'Sullivans and the various branches of the Mac Carthys occupied practically the whole of these territories. The conquest and division of these lands may have extended over a considerable period. As I say, we know very little about it. But it probably was carried out during the reign of Dermot and his immediate successors.

Though Dermot left sons, they did not secure the kingship; and their posterity, if they had any, lapsed into obscurity.

Very different was the fate of the descendants of the younger sons of Donnell Mór na Curra. From Cormac Fionn, the second son, come all the later Mac Carthy Mórs, and the houses of Duhallow and Muskerry, as well as numerous minor septs, who held in the sixteenth century great scopes of land in Desmond.

From Donnell Gott, the third son, come the great house of Mac Carthy Reagh, Lords of Carbery, and most of the various Mac Carthy septs who, in the sixteenth century, held nearly 300 out of the 766 ploughlands of that barony.¹⁹

Cormac Fionn died in 1248.²⁰ As his son, and eventual successor, Donnell Roe, died in 1302, fifty-four years after his father's death, he was probably quite young at that date; and it is likely that the kingship fell to Donnell Gott and his sons.²¹

Ultimately, however, Donnell Roe obtained the headship

¹⁹ Cox gives 766 ploughlands to Carbery. The *Car. Cal.* gives 816 ploughlands as the area, of which about 70 were demesne lands of Mac Carthy Reagh. It also sets out in detail the lands of the various Mac Carthy septs.

²⁰ This is the date given by Mr. Orpen from the *Dublin Annals of Inisfallen*. This is a summons from Hy. III to him, dated 1243-44. In some works 1242 is given as the date of his death.

²¹ Connolly says that Donnell Roe was born in 1204, so that he would have lived to the age of 98!

of the family and transmitted it to his descendants.²² But an arrangement seems to have been come to by which the posterity of Donnell Gott, while renouncing all claim to the kingship, were freed from dependence on the senior line. From the time of Donnell Roe we find the Lords of Carbery acting in all respects as free from any subjection to Mac Carthy Mór.

With Cormac Fionn we come on some of the difficult points in the pedigree. Cronnelly and the *Lambeth MSS.* pedigrees agree in stating that, besides his son and eventual successor, Donnell Roe, he had another son, Donnell Fionn, from whom were descended the Clan Donnell Finn of Iveragh and Magunihy.²³ All the pedigrees agree in assigning to him a son, Dermod. But while Cronnelly and O'Hart make this Dermod the ancestor of the Mac Donough Mac Carthys of Duhallow (Cronnelly, in addition, stating that Dermod was the eldest son), the *Lambeth* pedigrees make him ancestor of the Clan Dermod, who, in the sixteenth century, had large possessions in the baronies of Glanerought and Bere.²⁴ And Keating, omitting Donnell Fionn, gives two Dermods, sons of Cormac Fionn, one of whom was ancestor of the Mac Donoughs of Duhallow, and the other the ancestor of the sept of Mac Finghin, or Mac Fyneen, Mac Carthy of Ardtully in Glanerought.²⁵

It seems certain that on Cormac Fionn's death the headship of the family passed for about twenty years to Donnell Gott and his sons.²⁶ One of the latter, Finghin, gained in 1261 the decisive battle of Callan, which for a time checked the rise of the Geraldines to power, and definitely secured

²² A very lucid account of affairs in Desmond at this time is given by Mr. Orpen: *The Normans in Ireland*, Vol. III.

²³ According to Laine, Dermod was the eldest, Donnell Fionn the second, and Donnell Roe the third son of Cormac.

²⁴ This is the only attempt I have come across to account for the origin of this sept of Clan Dermod. If Dermod, ancestor of Duhallow, was really the eldest son of Cormac Fionn this would account for the fact, otherwise inexplicable, that Mac Donough Mac Carthy claimed to succeed to the dignity of Mac Carthy Mór on the death of Earl Donnell in 1596; although there were many branches nearer in blood than his to the Earl.

The Four Masters (anno 1501) derive the house of Duhallow from Dermod, son of Cormac Fionn.

²⁵ This may be from confusion as to Dermod "of Tralee," the ancestor of the Mac Finghins. The *Dublin Annals of Inisfallen* give a battle at Tralee in 1235, in which the Mac Carthys were defeated by the foreigners, and Dermod, son of Cormac Fionn, slain. This Dermod may have really been the ancestor of Clan Dermod; and Keating may have confused him with the Dermod slain at Tralee in 1325.

²⁶ This would account for Donnell Roe's alliance with the Geraldines, Donnell Gott was slain by the Fitzgeralds in 1251.

the independence of the Irish of West Cork and South Kerry. The *Annals of Loch Cé* look on Finghin as sovereign of Desmond. He fell in battle against the De Courcys at Ringrone, near Kinsale, in the year of his victory, "and the sovereignty of Desmond was assumed after him by his brother—i.e., the Aithchleirech Mac Carthy." Next year Mac William Burke and the foreigners of Erin renewed the attack on Desmond. A battle was fought high up on the slopes of Mangerton—"the joy and sorrow to Des Mumha," for Cormac, son of Donnell Gott, was slain on that same day. The name Tooreen Cormac on our Ordnance maps preserves the memory of his fate. But victory lay, apparently, with his followers. From that day, for over three centuries, the Mac Carthys ruled supreme over the mountains and glens and sea-fretted coast from Castlemaine Harbour to the estuary of the Bandon River.

Donnell Roe, son of Cormac Fionn, had fought on the side of the foreigner at Callan.²⁷ But he reaped to the full the fruits of victory and established himself as King of Desmond.

With him began the most glorious period in the history of his house. Before Callan, as I have already said, the invaders seemed to have secured a firm grip on south-west Munster. The coast was studded with their castles. The Irish seemed confined to the hill country of the interior.

John FitzThomas held the manor of Killorglin with the barony of Magunihy—the level country north of the Laune—and that of Iveragh, the basins of the Fertagh and Inny Rivers.

But after Callan "the Carties played the divell in Desmond," as an old chronicler puts it. Dungloe, Macroon, Killorglin, and many of the coast castles fell before them.²⁸ A great raid spread destruction over the west of Limerick. Here, however, the foreigner was too firmly seated to be permanently expelled. But in Kerry and Cork the Irish pressed down from the mountain strongholds to which they had been confined, and recovered district after district in the level country from the enemy.²⁹

²⁷ We find, owing to the uncertain working of the Irish law of succession, that the invaders could nearly always count on the help of some member of the ruling house in their attacks on Irish territories—*c.f.*, the history of the O'Conors of Connacht, the O'Briens of Clare, and the O'Neills of Tyrone. Donnell Roe only followed the prevailing fashion.

²⁸ Killorglin must afterwards have been recovered by the Geraldines.

²⁹ See, for the destruction caused by the Irish, the Inquisitions on the death of John FitzThomas taken in 1282, and of Thomas FitzMaurice in 1298-99. *C. Docs., Ir.*

This revival of Irish power continued all through the fourteenth century.³⁰

Gofraidh Fionn O'Dálaigh, hereditary poet to the Kings of Desmond, exhorts Donnell Oge II, son and successor of Cormac Mór, grandson of Donnell Roe, to lead the Eoghanacht of Caiseal back to their old homes "on the place of Padraig's tent," turning his back on Dairbhre's shore, the bay of rough peaked Béirre, Corca Duibhne, and the ports of Uidlíne, and the fair-shored lake where he was born and reared.³¹ Let him leave to the two Eoghanachts of West Mumha the lands which were their sires'; to each lord leave his ancestral dominion. Let him lead his chiefs and their departing folk into that fair, festive plain, yew-clad, swan-haunted, lovely, and there let him set each chief in his own land of the tuaths of smooth-built Caiseal; let each chief's house be set on the dwelling-spot of his sires.

Thus dreamed and sang the fourteenth century bard. But as he himself says in another poem: "In our poems we promise the Gaoidhil a kingdom they never get."³² And Mac Carthy and O'Sullivan have remained in Kerry and Cork unto this day.³³

The *Annals of Lough Cé* record the death of Donnell Roe

³⁰ Donnell Roe, however, wrote to the King "vehemently desiring to be subjected to the King's domination and wishing beyond measure to acquire the King's friendship by his service." No doubt, he had no objection to acknowledging the distant King of England as his lord, provided he was left in possession of the lands he held in opposition to the Geraldines.

About May, 1285, letters of protection were issued for Donnell in coming to the King in England with a moderate retinue, horses and harness. About 1288-90 he is mentioned as hostile; later he paid a fine. *Cal. Docs., Ir.*

³¹ For these lands (*i.e.*, Kerry) thy folk left
The hills around Caiseal
'Twas wrong to prefer wild glens
To exchange wine for small ale! (v. 12.)
Lead us back the same road
O curly-haired strong armed hero.
Too long our absence from our country.
Great our misery to miss it. (v. 15.)

(Translated by Rev. L. McKenna, S.J., *Irish Monthly*, May and June, 1919.)

³² *Irish Monthly*, Sept., 1919.

³³ Nicholas Browne says that in his day the "Irishrey" "doe hope for a tyme wherein they may recouer the whole Prouynce wch they accounte to be their owne inheritance, and as famyliarly doe reckon wch landes weare their auncestors 400 yeares since, as if they had byn but dryuen out of them in their owne memorie." And the *Four Masters*, under date 1560, call Eoghanacht Caisel, and the lands about the Suir "the lawful patrimonial inheritance of the descendants of Eoghan Mór and Cormac Cas."

in 1298, and again, with more detail, in 1302.³⁴ The *Annals of Ulster* give this latter date, which is probably the correct one. He, therefore, outlived his father by fifty-four years, and, if we can believe Cronnelly, attained to the ripe age of ninety-eight. His son, Donnell Oge, succeeded him.

From another son, whose name is given as Eoghan in some of the pedigrees, Keating, *Life and Letters*, and one Lambeth pedigree derive the Clan Donnell Roe, who, in the sixteenth century, had large possessions in the barony of Bantry. Both Lambeth pedigrees give him two other sons; from one, Dermot Mór, they derive the Mac Donough Mac Carthys of Duhallow; from the other, Dermot Roe, they derive the Mac Fyneen Mac Carthys of Glanerought. Both of these sons are omitted by Keating.

Cronnelly and *Life and Letters*, following him, mention only one Dermot, called of Tralee, because he was slain there in 1325 by Fitzmaurice, Lord of Kerry, ancestor of Lord Lansdowne, as he sat on the bench beside the judge of assize. From Finghin, son of Dermot of Tralee, come the Mac Fyneens.

But Mac Firbis and the *Book of Munster* make both Eoghan, ancestor of Clan Donnell Roe, and Dermot of Tralee, sons, not of Donnell Roe, but of his son and successor, Donnell Oge. We learn from the *Annals of Ulster* that this Donnell Oge was also called Donnell Roe; hence confusion might easily arise.³⁵

Donnell Oge died in 1303 according to the *Annals of Loch Cé* and those of Ulster.³⁶ The printed pedigrees give him only one son, his successor Cormac Mór. But, as I have said above, some of our pedigrees make him father of Eoghan, founder of Clan Donnell Roe and of Dermot of Tralee.

The two Lambeth pedigrees introduce a further confusion by making him father of Dermot, from whom descended the Lords of Muskerry, and of Eoghan, founder of the Sliocht Eoghan Mór of Coshmaing. This descent is repeated in a separate pedigree of the sept of Cosh Maing in volume 626.³⁷

But all the other pedigrees agree that the progenitors of

³⁴ Domhnall Ruadh Mac C., King of Des-Mumha—i.e., the eldest and noblest, the most bountiful and valiant, and the most formidable and triumphant Gaiedhel in battles and conflicts of all the Gaiedhil of Eriinn, died after the victory of penitence in this year (*A. Loch Cé*, 1302).

³⁵ Father Mac Kenna in *Irish Monthly*. The date 1325 of the death of Dermot of Tralee might suit a son of Donnell Oge better than a son of Donnell Roe. Cox also makes Dermot of Tralee a son of Donnell Oge.

³⁶ But Lainé and those who follow him place his death in 1307.

³⁷ All the Lambeth pedigrees which I have seen omit Donnell Oge II.

these two lines were sons of Cormac Mór. As the Lambeth pedigrees altogether omit Donnell Oge II, son of Cormac Mór, and as Donnell's existence, as well as that of his father Cormac, his brother Dermod of Muskerry, and his grandfather Donnell Oge I, can be proved, not only from the annals, but from the poems of Gofraidh Fionn O'Dálaigh, we may take it that in this respect the Lambeth pedigrees must be rejected.

Cormac Mór died, according to the *Annals of Loch Cé*, in 1359, fifty-six years after his father. If we could believe Cronnelly's date for his birth, he lived to the age of eighty-eight, as did also his son and successor, Donnell Oge II.³⁸

Under him the power of his house perhaps reached its highest extent. He had several sons in addition to his son and successor Donnell Oge II. On one of them, Dermod, the Lordship of Muskerry was conferred, subject to very small reservations in favour of the senior line. The Lords of Muskerry ultimately became the wealthiest and most influential of all the descendants of Carthagh.

To another son, Eoghan, was given the Lordship of Cosh Maing. This district stretched from the modern boundary of Cork across the northern and western parts of the barony of Magunihy to close to Castlemaine. In later days it formed part of the immense property of the Earls of Kenmare.

Cosh Maing was a frontier district, forming a barrier between the lands of the Geraldines and the rest of the Kerry lands of the Mac Carthys. In the same way Muskerry formed a frontier barrier to the east, and Duhallow to the north-east against the foreigner. The Mac Carthy chiefs seem to have deliberately adopted a policy of securing their conquests by handing them over as appanages to the younger branches of their house. This policy ultimately had bad effects. The rights reserved by the head of the house were small; the possibility of gaining additional territory by conquest passed from the ruler to the junior branches; and as these increased in power their allegiance to the parent house grew more precarious.³⁹

³⁸ According to Cronnelly, Cormac Mór was born in 1271, and Donnell Oge II. in 1303. Cronnelly gives 1371 as the date of Donnell's death, so would only give him sixty-eight years. But the annals give 1391 as the true date of Donnell's death.

Lainé gives a totally different account. He says Cormac Mór was succeeded by his eldest son Taig, and he by his next brother Florence, and that the latter died in 1350 when Donnell Oge succeeded. Friar Clyn calls Dermod of Tralee, murdered in 1325, King of Desmond; but this is not confirmed by our other authorities.

³⁹ Nicholas Browne, in his letter on the state of Munster in 1597, says: "ffor thear beinge many howses yssued out of McCarty More's howse, whearby his lande grewe to a very small proportion.

Besides Dermot and Eoghan, Cormac Mór had a son, Donough, from whom came the Sliocht Fyneen Duff of Ardcanaghty, who held a small estate in the baronies of Magunihy and Trughanaemy in the sixteenth century. O'Hart gives other sons, of whose posterity there is no record.

In 1391, Donnell Oge II, King of Desmond, died after penitence, and the *Annals of Ulster* tell us that "his son Tadhg was made king in his stead over Desmond." This Tadhg is called "of the Monastery," perhaps because he founded or enlarged the Friary of Irrelagh or Muckcross.⁴⁰ I cannot find his death recorded in the annals.⁴¹ He was succeeded by his son, Donnell Oge III.

Tadhg had at least two other sons, Cormac, whose death in 1473 is recorded in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, which call him Tanist of Des-Mumha, and Diarmaid, who, according to the same authority, was slain in 1489 by the Earl of Desmond.

From Cormac, son of Tadhg, come the Sliocht Cormac of Dunguile. This is the latest sept to break off from the main line. Of the descendants of Donnell Oge III, few seem to have had more than two sons, and several died without male heirs; so that Donnell, the last Mac Carthy Mór, and first Earl of Clancarthy, had no near male relatives. His son, Tadhg or Teige, Baron of Valentia, died in his father's lifetime; and so, on the death of Earl Donnell, the lawful posterity, in the male line, of Donnell Oge III,⁴² became extinct.

To Donnell Oge III, who died in 1468,⁴³ succeeded his son Tadhg, who is named as Mac Carthy Mór in 1489 by

then he began to exacte duties and ympositions uppon those yonger howses, wch they would not endure." So they sided against him with the Earl of Desmond.

Nicholas Browne also says that if the followers of Mac Carthy Mór were united they could make from seven to eight thousand armed men.

⁴⁰ The *Four Masters* say Irrelagh was founded in 1340 by Donnell Mac C. This is obviously wrong, as Cormac Mór was king in that year. Donnell Oge III, son of Tadhg, completed the building.

⁴¹ Cronnelly gives 1413; this is taken from Lainé. But the latter says that Donnell Oge was succeeded by his elder son Donnell, and that Tadhg, the second son, only succeeded in 1409. This absolutely conflicts with the annals.

⁴² According to Nicholas Browne, Donnell, elder son of Tadhg Liath, had no sons. This, we know from the *Four Masters*, is untrue. Then Cormac Ladhrach, second son to Tadhg, had two sons, an elder son, Tadhg, who died without male issue, apparently before his father, and a younger son, Donnell. This Donnell, again, had two sons, an elder son, Tadhg, who left one daughter, and who apparently died before his father, and a younger son, Donnell, the Earl.

⁴³ *Annals of Loch Cé*.

the *Annals of Ulster*, which relate, under that year, that he slew Patrikin, son of the Knight of Kerry. He is probably the "Teige Leith" (the greybeard) referred to in some Elizabethan documents bearing on the estate of Donnell, Earl of Clan Carthy. Tadhg had at least two sons, Donnell who succeeded him, and who died, according to the *Four Masters*, in 1508, and Cormac Ladhreach, who, on his brother's death, contended for the Lordship of Desmond with Tadhg na Leamhna, son of Donnell.⁴⁴

Apparently during this struggle, the first of which we hear in the annals of Desmond for over two centuries, the Earl of Kildare, with O'Donnell of Tir Connell, invaded Duhallow and Desmond, taking Kanturk, "the Pailis," which was the chief residence of Mac Carthy Mór, and the castles along the Maine in their entirety. As a result, Cormac Ladhreach prevailed; but in 1513 Tadhg attacked him, and Desmond was divided into two parts between them. Tadhg died next year "in his bed as was not expected."

Cormac then ruled without opposition; but in 1516 the *Annals of Loch Cé* tell us "Mac Carthy Mór—i.e., Cormac Ladhreach, son of Tadhg, lord of Des-Mumha, the man who best obtained his government, and who encountered the greatest hostility until he was undisputed lord, and who was the best protector of the learned and destitute, and whose law and rule were the best of all the princes of Leth-Modha—died."

Next year the *Annals of the Four Masters* tell us that the Castle of the Lake was taken from Cormac's sons; but they do not say by whom. From this entry it is evident that he had more than one son. The pedigree in *Lambeth MSS.*, Vol. 626, gives him two sons—Teg (i.e., Tadhg), who left no sons, and Donnell, who succeeded him.⁴⁵

From the *Annals of Loch Cé* he would appear to have had another son, Cormac.

Of Donnell, known as Donnell an Druimin, nothing seems to be recorded beyond the fact that he received a grant of "English liberty." His son and successor, another Donnell, submitted to Queen Mary, and was made Earl of Clancare,

⁴⁴ The pedigree in *Lambeth MSS.*, Vol. 626, omits this Tadhg, and says Donnell died s. p. male. Nicholas Browne says Donnell had no sons, but divers daughters married to Lords who have issue by them. Browne is trying to prove a thesis, and may have merely meant to imply that Donnell had no son who left offspring. But these entries show how inaccurate even the most categorical statements by Elizabethan writers may be.

⁴⁵ Both the *Lambeth* pedigree and Nicholas Browne says that Tadhg was the elder son. He must have died in his father's lifetime. He left several daughters, who married and had children.

or Clancarthy, by Elizabeth.⁴⁶ By his wife he had a son Tadhg, Baron of Valentia, who predeceased him. His daughter, Ellen, married Florence, tanist of Carbery, son of Sir Donough Mac Carthy Reagh.

The intrigues which filled the last years of the lord of such great possessions are told at length in the *Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Mór*. When the Earl died in 1596, the natural heir, according to Irish ideas, would have been his illegitimate son Donnell. But English law and ideas had begun to prevail, and although Donnell assumed the title of Mac Carthy Mór, and was for a time supported by the Government, he ultimately was contented with a large estate carved for him out of the demesne lands of his father.

His lands passed to his reputed son, Donnell Oge, who seems to have resided at Ballincarrig, near Ballybrack station. His property was confiscated by Cromwell. Although at the Restoration he received a Royal letter commending his loyalty and recognising his sufferings for the Royal cause, he failed to recover any of his lands. (*Cal. St. Papers*, 1663, p. 183, and *Books of Survey and Distribution*.)

Ellen, wife of Florence, was recognised as heiress to the greater part of the remainder of the demesne lands. They passed to her descendants, until, in the eighteenth century, the last of these, having no children, left them to his father-in-law, Herbert, descendant of an "undertaker" of Elizabethan days, and ancestor of the Herberts of Muckcross.

As for the various sovereign rights, the cuttings and spendings, the horses' meat and dogs' meat, the sroans of oats and quirrens of butter, and all the other dues payable to the Irish kings, they were vested in the Crown and extinguished, and the Lordship of Mac Carthy Mór came to an end.

The climax of the power of Mac Carthy Mór was reached apparently in the fourteenth century under Cormac Mór and his son Donnell Oge II, whose two reigns occupy a space of eighty-eight years.

The longevity of the Mac Carthy house is, indeed, remarkable. Even if we dismiss as baseless the extraordinary statements given by Cronnelly, founded apparently on Lainé, and confine ourselves to the dates recorded in the annals, we get very curious results.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ In 1565 or 1566. Donnell had an elder brother Tadhg, according to the *Lambeth MSS.* and to Nicholas Browne. The latter says Tadhg had a daughter, Catherine. Tadhg must have died in his father's lifetime.

⁴⁷ If we could trust Cronnelly, Muireadhach died aged 81, his son

Carthagh, as we have seen, was slain in A.D. 1045. His grandson, Cormac, was murdered ninety-three years later, and Cormac's son, Dermot, was slain forty-seven years later. If we were to count Donnell Roe's reign from the date of his father's death, then it, with that of his grandson and great-grandson, would cover 148 years. The annals do not record the death of Tadhg na Mainistragh,⁴³ but his reign and that of his son, Donnell Oge III, cover seventy-seven years; and if the *Annals of Lough Cé* are correct in stating that the Diarmaid slain in 1489 by the Earl of Desmond was a son of Tadhg, son of Domhnall Oge Mac Carthy Mór, ninety-eight years had elapsed between his death and that of his grandfather.

The reigns of the later Mac Carthys are much shorter. Those of Tadhg Liath, son of Donnell Oge III, and of Tadhg's two sons, Donnell and Cormac Ladhrach, cover only forty-eight years. But the two last of the line, Donnell an Druimin, and Donnell the Earl, fill the space of eighty years between them.

After Donnell Oge II the family appears to have produced no members of outstanding abilities.

It is curious to note that in Wales we find the same phenomenon of princes who, if they did not meet a violent death, lived and reigned for periods abnormally long as compared with the contemporary kings of England and France. The later generations of these Welsh princely families frequently intermarried with the Norman nobility; and this admixture of new blood seems to have led to the weakening of the old vigorous Celtic stock, and to the rapid extinction of the native dynasties in the male line. The same failure of male heirs is noticeable in the history of the noble French families who settled, as a result of the Crusades, in Syria and Greece. It is, perhaps, not altogether fanciful to attribute the decline and ultimate extinction of the senior line of the Mac Carthy house to the intermixture of foreign blood. If *Lainé* can be trusted, Donnell Roe married Margaret FitzMaurice, and Cormac Mór married Honora FitzMaurice. We know, however, from O'Dalaigh's

Cormac was 84 when he was murdered, and Cormac's son, Dermot, was slain at the age of 87. Then Donnell Roe died aged 98. Cormac Mór and Donnell Oge II both reached the age of 88. Donnell Oge III is said to have been 95 at his death, and Tadhg Liath was slain at the age of 83 in battle with the Earl of Desmond. Tadhg na Mainistragh died a mere stripling of 73. It is only fair to Cronnelly to say that he seems to have scruples about Donnell Oge III. He gives his birth year as 1373, and says he died at an advanced age. The *Annals of Loch Cé* give 1468 as the year of his death.

⁴³ Cronnelly says he died in 1413 in the City of Cork.

poems that the mother of Cormac's children was "Mór from the North," so that if Lainé be right he was twice married.

According to Lainé, Donnell Oge II. married Joan FitzGerald, Cormac Ladhrach married Eleanor FitzMaurice, and Earl Donnell married Honora FitzGerald.

NOTE ON THE PEDIGREE.

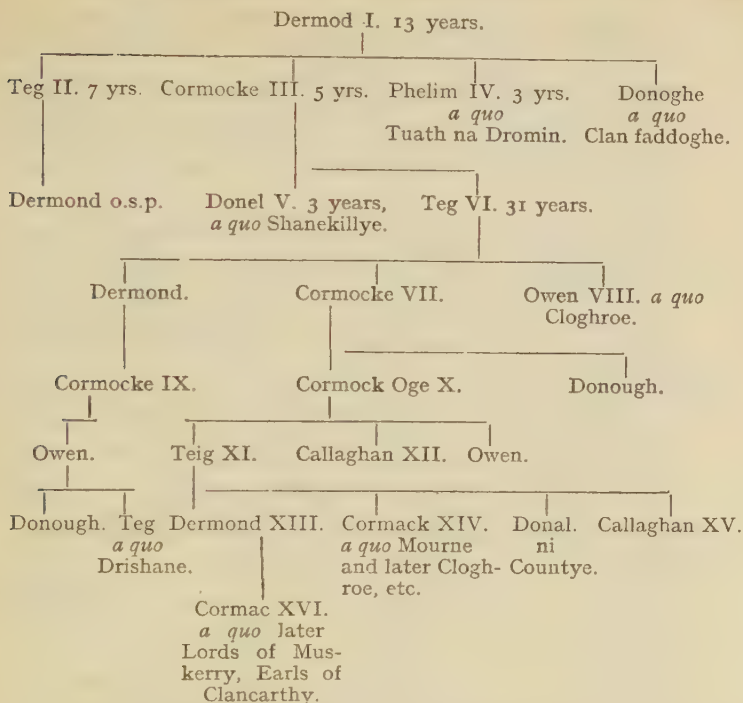
The chief confusion in the Mac Carthy pedigree arises from the various Dermods. The simplest solution would be if we could take Dermod, son of Cormac Finn, slain at Tralee in 1234 or 1235, to be ancestor of Clan Dermod, his nephew, son of Donnell Roe, to be ancestor of Duhallow, and *his* nephew, son of Donnell Oge I, to be ancestor of Mac Finghin. Mac Finghin certainly comes from the Dermod slain at Tralee in 1325, but it is not certain whether he was a son of Donnell Roe, or of Donnell Oge I. But the preponderance of authorities seem to be in favour of deriving the Mac Donoughs of Duhallow from Dermod, son of Cormac Fionn. This is the view of the *Four Masters*, when they give, *anno* 1501, the pedigree of the Lord of Duhallow who died in that year.

The next simplest solution would be if we could follow Keating in giving Cormac Fionn two sons named Dermod, but differ from him by deriving Clan Dermod, and not, as he says, Mac Finghin, from the second one.

Then Mac Finghin would come from a Dermod son either of Donnell Roe or of Donnell Oge I.

The house of Muskerry certainly comes from Dermod, son of Cormac Mór. The Lambeth pedigrees, and the curious account given in the *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, 1617, may, I think, be neglected.

There are several pedigrees of the Mac Carthys of Muskerry in the *Carew MSS.* at Lambeth. They contain the discrepancies usual in these manuscript pedigrees; and we must receive their statements with caution. One, beginning on page 154 of Vol. 635, gives some curious details, illustrative of succession by tanistry, and of the complications to which this mode of succession gave rise. I first give part of the pedigree, and then some of the explanatory notes. Roman numerals indicate the order of succession; the years, the length of the reign of each Lord. I have reproduced the spelling; and have put in the septs descended from certain individuals.



We hear of six "septs" of the Mac Carthys in Muskerry in the sixteenth century. The above pedigree shows the origin of four—Sliocht Tuath na Dromin, Clan Fada, Sliocht Sean Choill, and Sliocht Cloghroe. Sliocht Cormac Oge probably included the posterity of the tenth Lord—the actual ruling sept—and Sliocht "Decane" I cannot identify. It is to be noted that two of these septs took their names from the districts they held—Tuath na Dromin, the country near Macroom between the Sullane and the Lee, forming the parish of Kilnamartera, and Cloghroe, the district between the Shournagh and the stream joining it at Coachford Junction.⁴⁹ I know of no material for fixing the lands of the other septs, except that of "Shanekillie."

The following is a selection from the notes written under some of the names:—

"Dermond" (son of Teg, 2nd Lord) "slain by the Barretts by the procurement of his uncle Phelim."

"Phelim, tanist to his brother Cormocke L. of Muscrye 3 yeares he caused his nephew Dermond McTeg to be

⁴⁹ From his will one would gather that Cormac Mac Teig had deprived the sept of Cloghroe of their lands. He left Tuath Cloghroe to two of his sons, one of whom, Cormac, was ancestor of the later Mac Carthys of Cloghroe.

murthered for which fact he and his posteritie were disenabled to be Lds. of the countrys but had the lands of Twonedromon given unto them."

"Donell [V] tanist (after his cosen Dermond Mc' Teig's death) to his uncle Phelim L. of Muskrve 3 years but because he and his children were not men of stirring spirits but given to ease he and his posterity were disabled for being Lds. of Muscrve and the lands of Shanekillye were allotted unto them."

"Dermond" (eldest son of Teige, the 6th Lord) "slayne by McCartie More in his father's life." It will be noted that his son Cormac became the ninth Lord, after the deaths of his uncles Cormac Laidher and Eoghan of Cloghroe.

"Cormocke [IX] Tanist to his uncle Owen and L. of Muscrve 3 yeares he was expelled by his cosen Cormocke Oge and had for his portion to him and his posteritie the lands of Drishane."

"Cormocke Oge [X] Tanist to his cosen Cormocke McDermonde and after he had slayne his uncle Owen he expelled Cormocke his cosen and was L. of Muscrve. This Cormocke got to be Ld. of Muscrve by the ayd of Thomas son to the Earl of Desmond."

"Donoghe Tanist to his brother Cormocke slayne at the Abbey of Mourne at the overthrow of the Erle of Desmond."

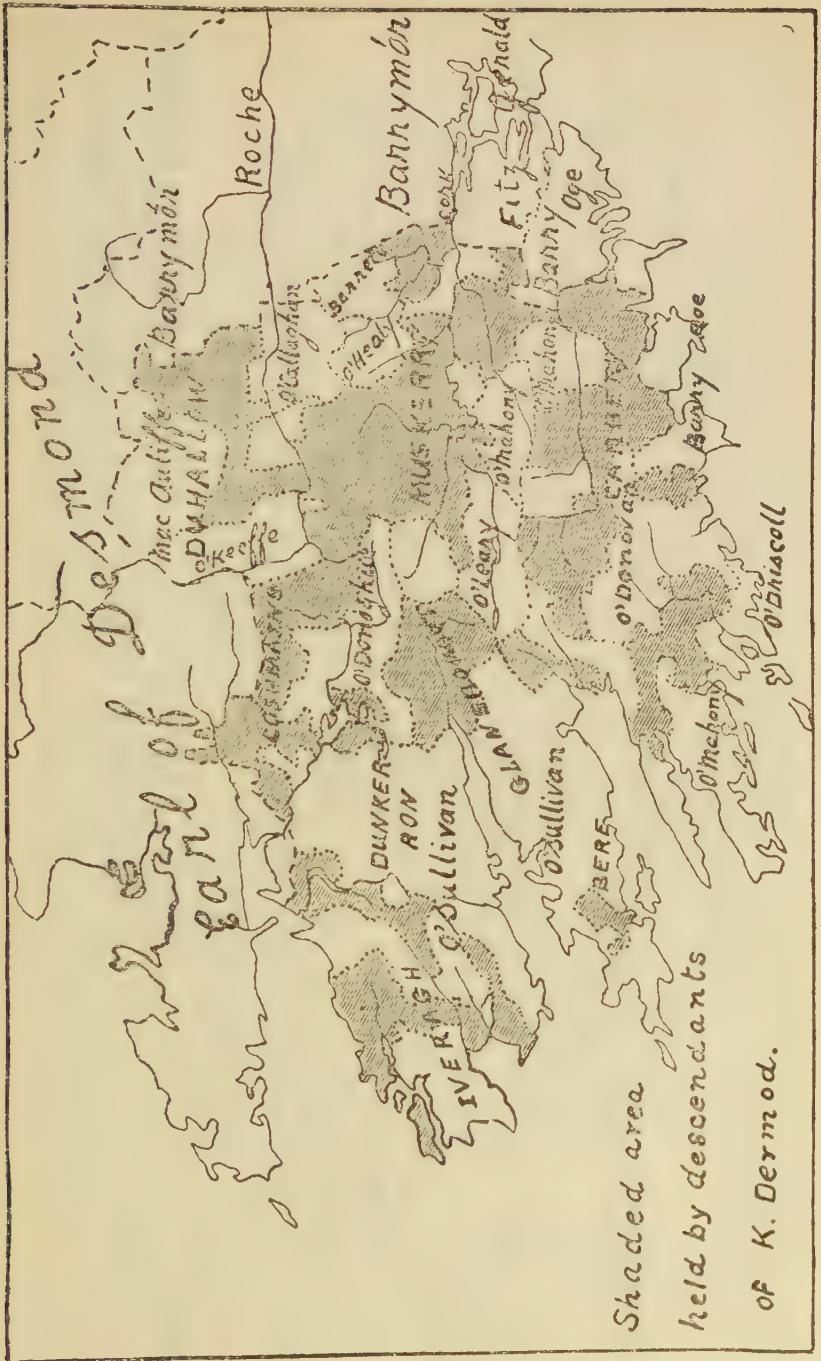
"Teg [XI] Tanist to his father after the death of his uncle Donoghe and L. of Muscrve."

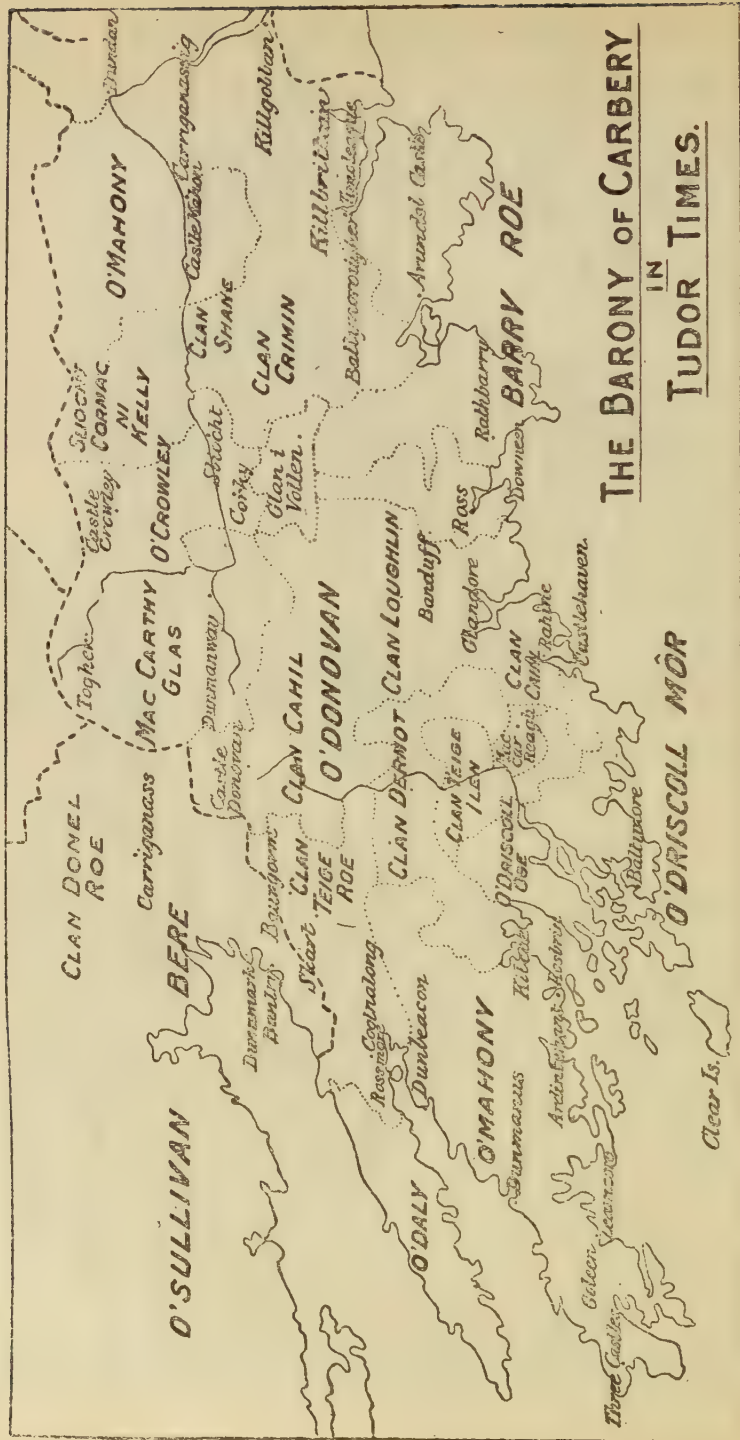
"Callaghan [XII] Tanist to his brother Teg accounting himself more worthy than his brother Teg usurped uppon him the Lordsh. of Muscrve untill he was slayne by his cosen Donoghe Mc Owen [of Drishane] who had the best challenge to Muscrve."

"Donough slain by Sir Dermond Mc Teig." He had slain Callaghan the twelfth Lord. From his (younger?) brother, Teg, come the later owners of Drishane.

"Owen Tanist to his brother Teg after Callaghan's death and should have been L. of Muscrve but he was taken by Sir Dermond Mc Teg and kept by him prisoner that he should not succeed as he ought to have done."

This document shows how the succession normally went from brother to brother, and then back to the son of the eldest brother. Thus, Dermod, son of the second Lord, Teige, was tanist to his uncle Phelim—we must suppose that Donough, ancestor of the sept of Clan Fada, was dead—and, after Dermod's murder, the son of Cormac, the third Lord, became tanist in turn. But we can see the dissensions, often leading to family murders, to which such a system would give rise. Cormac Laidher, the seventh Lord, was, as we learn from the *Four Masters*, murdered by his brother, Eoghan. Eoghan himself was slain by Cormac's son, Cormac Oge. The twelfth Lord was slain by the grandson of the ninth Lord, who, in turn, was slain by the thirteenth Lord. But that such murders did not always go unpunished is shown by the statement that Phelim and his posterity were "disenabled to be Lords;" and the same punishment seems to have been meted out to the sons of Eoghan, who were left in possession of Cloghroe, but excluded from the Lordship.





II. THE LORDSHIP OF MAC CARTHY REAGH.

The Lordship of Mac Carthy Mór does not exhaust the list of the territories held in the sixteenth century by the descendants of King Dermot Mac Carthy. There was another district, of no inconsiderable extent, ruled over by a younger branch of the Mac Carthy house, which had attained to complete independence of the elder line—the land, namely, of Carbery, the Lordship of Mac Carthy Reagh.

Carbery, the largest Barony in Ireland, stretches along the southern coast of County Cork from the estuary of the Bandon River to the southern shores of Bantry Bay.

Our sources of information for this territory are unusually copious. Its position along the coast nearest to Spain, and the many excellent harbours it contained, made it a particular object of attention to the authorities at Cork, even before the Spanish invasion of 1601 turned upon it all eyes. The doings of the tanist, Florence, fill many pages of the State papers, while he himself has left no inconsiderable amount of writings, from which much knowledge can be gleaned.

But more important for our purposes are a note made by Carew in 1599¹ of all the sub-divisions of the country, their extent, and the clans that inhabited them, and a long inquisition taken in 1636, on the death of Donnell, or Daniel, Mac Carthy Reagh, showing what his rights were over them all. We have also valuable sources of information in various inquisitions relating to the O'Driscolls, published in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society* in the appendix to the tract on Corca Laidhe; while O'Donovan, in the appendix to his edition of the *Four Masters*, gives copious details as to the clan from which he was sprung, and quotes in full the grants of James I to O'Donovan of Clan Cahil, and O'Donovan of Clan Loughlin.

These latter documents, it will be noticed, refer to a time later than the Tudor period; but they represent a settlement made at the close of that period; and are especially valuable as illustrating the process by which an Irish

¹ *Carew Calendar*, 1599, p. 351.

country was transformed into part of an English shire, and an independent native chief into a great landowner, much restricted as to his old prerogatives, but fully secured in those rights that were left to him. For the actual Tudor period the note in the *Carew Calendar* will suffice.

There is one fact which deserves notice, before I proceed to my subject. In the various inquisitions to which I have referred the names of an immense number of townlands are given. The vast majority of these names can be at once identified to-day in the large maps of the Ordnance Survey. Still more can be recognized by a person acquainted with the Irish language, as, of course, many place-names in Ireland have been changed from the Irish form to its English equivalent. But even without this help, it is possible in one district—the land of the O’Crowleys, in the parishes of Kinneigh and Fanlobbus—to identify nineteen townlands, out of twenty-three given in the inquisition of 1636. This is most remarkable, when we consider the almost complete change of ownership and of language which has taken place since that date. By the aid of the names in the ancient inquisitions and the modern maps, I have been able to fix, sometimes accurately, sometimes approximately, the boundaries of the different clans in the ancient principality of Carbery.

This land of Mac Carthy Reagh’s was much subdivided amongst various branches of the Mac Carthys, and several dependent clans—O’Donovans, O’Mahonys, O’Driscolls and others. This sub-division was the consequence of the disturbed history of Carbery.

In the twelfth century two great tribes held between them the whole country from Cork Harbour to Bere, and from the Lee southward to the sea, until disturbed by the Anglo-Norman invaders. One of these, the Corea Laidhe, was reputed to be sprung not from Miledh, the patriarch of the Irish race, but from his uncle, Ith. Whatever value may be attached to the traditional Irish genealogies, it seems safe to conclude that the Corea Laidhe were held by their neighbours to have differed from them considerably in their origin.

According to the traditional account, this race ruled over one half of Munster, until the days of Olioll Olum, progenitor of the Mac Carthys, O’Briens and other rulers of Munster during the historical period.² Olioll is said to

² According to Keating, the boundary between the two Munsters ran from Cork to Limerick. West of this was the portion of the descendants of Ith. The notion that the two Munsters were North and South is of comparatively late origin.

have flourished in the first half of the third century, A.D., and to have established his power over both Munsters, and transmitted the sovereignty of the whole to his descendants.

In the early twelfth century we find the Corca Laidhe in possession of a district along the Cork coast from Court-macsherry to Roaring Water Bay, corresponding roughly to the present diocese of Ross. They seem to have had lands in Bere and Bantry also, for a detached portion of the diocese of Ross takes in certain parishes in those Baronies.³

In the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society* there is printed a curious work, *The Genealogy of Corca Laidhe*, a portion of which throws light on the organisation of the tribe prior to the English invasion.⁴

There was a King whose family had taken the name of O'Driscoll, and under him were seven chiefs, each ruling over a specified district, one of which is called *duthaich*, the six others *tuath*; under them again were the hereditary leaders *oglaich duchusa*, i.e., the heads of the land-owning families, seventy-one in number.⁵

The splitting of the diocese of Ross into two separate portions may be accounted for by the encroachments on the Corca Laidhe of the other great tribe, the Ui Eachach. This race, of whom I have spoken when dealing with Muskerry, appear during the historical period as one of the most powerful of the Eoghanacht clans. Among their subdivisions were included the O'Donoghues, of whom I have already spoken. The branch of the tribe with which we are here concerned was also known as the Kinel Aedh (anglicised Kinelea), to distinguish them from the Kinel Laegaire, the branch of which in later times O'Donoghue was chief. After the introduction of surnames the chief of the Kinel Aedh took the name of O'Mahony.

In the height of their power the O'Mahonys appear to have ruled from Cork to Mizen Head, and from the Lee to the northern borders of the Corca Laidhe. This district

³ The tract to be mentioned does not refer to this detached portion. As is well known, the Irish dioceses were often coextensive with some great tribe land. There are small discrepancies between the boundaries of the Diocese of Ross and those of the Corca Laidhe as set out in the *Genealogy*, no doubt because the limits of the tribe had altered between the time of fixing the diocesan boundaries and the composition of the *Genealogy*.

⁴ Headed *Dúchusaich Chorca Laidhi*, translated *The Hereditary Proprietors of Corca Laidhe* by O'Donovan.

⁵ The *Genealogy* is printed from manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries, but these are evidently copied from older sources. The state of affairs described is that existing before the Anglo-Norman invasion.

was probably more extensive than was that held by any other of the Eoghanacht clans. It was free from all tribute to the Kings of Cashel, as was the case with all, or nearly all, other districts held by the posterity of Eoghan Mór; and the king of the tribe was entitled to special marks of honour from the sovereign of all Munster.

The original territory of this tribe was the district between the lower courses of the Lee and Bandon. Here, at Rath Raithlean, on the northern slope of the hills that form the water parting between the two rivers, was the seat of the King, a circular fort with a triple rampart, surrounded by a dozen or more smaller raths. Here, too, the tribe name is perpetuated in the barony of Kinelea, and its western neighbour Kinelmeaky.⁶

Northward the territory of the tribe extended to the Lee, taking in much of what is now Muskerry. An early chief, Flann by name, is said to have added to his dominions much of the modern West Muskerry and to have left his name to the district of Ui Flonn Lua, or Iflanloe. It is to be noted that whereas in Tudor times the ridge between the Bandon and the Lee formed the boundary between the territories of Muskerry and Carbery, and the O'Mahonys of the former territory had then no political connection with their Carbery kinsmen, in earlier days this ridge seems to have been the central seat of the tribe. The change was due, no doubt, to alterations in the physical condition of the country.

In early days the valley of the Lee from Cork to Iniscarra, and higher up from Macroom to Inchigeela, must have been an almost impassible swamp. A remnant indeed of the old state of things can still be studied in the "Gearagh" near Macroom. The valley of the Bandon was probably in a similar swampy condition. The low range of hills between the two rivers offered, on the contrary, dry expanses, not too high for cultivation. It preserves to the present day numerous raths, centres of the early population. At a later period, when the lowlands had been reclaimed from swamp, the population, in Muskerry at least, gathered along the rivers, and the Lordship of Muskerry took in the watershed of the Lee.⁷

Pushing along the dividing ridge, the Ui Eachach

⁶ The modern Kinelmeaky takes its name "Kinell m Beice," "the race of Bece," from Bece, 4th in descent from Aedh. It was formerly included in Kinelea, and in the ecclesiastical divisions was known as the deanery of Kinelea Ultra.

⁷ Nearly all the castles in Muskerry stand close to the Lee or its tributaries.

extended westwards, until they turned the upper waters of the Bandon, and spread south and west to the sea coast, adding to their territories the wild peninsulas between Roaring Water Bay and Bantry. Canon O'Mahony, in his work on the history of his clan, gives conclusive proof that already in the eighth century the lands of the tribe stretched unbroken from Cork to Mizen Head.

Thus the lands of the Corca Laidhe west of Bantry Bay were cut off from those occupied by the main body of that tribe between the Bandon River and the sea. The diocese of Ross was formed to take in all the lands of the Corca Laidhe, while those of the Kinel Aedh, or Ua Eachach, made up the diocese of Cork. Hence the peculiarity that the diocese of Cork separates that of Ross into two distinct portions.

The lands of the Kinel Aedh were of somewhat irregular shape, for the Corca Laidhe maintained their hold, as I have said, on a large stretch of the coast; and, inland, held their own among the slopes which rise from the southern banks of the Bandon. Cinel Aedh and Corca Laidhe were both, in historical times, subject to the Kings of Cashel. The kingship, as Canon O'Mahony points out, was more than once held by members of the Cinel Aedh.

On the two tribes came the shock of the Anglo-Norman invasion. Masters of the sea, the invaders sailed up the great rivers; and, by means of their mail-clad cavalry, overran the open country, as far as it would permit of the evolutions of their heavy war horses.

Then came the raids of the O'Briens, who took the opportunity to strike a blow at the hated race of Eoghan. We read of raids across the Shannon in 1174 and 1177; and finally, in 1178, we are told: "There was a very great war between the O'Briens and the Mac Carthys, so that they desolated the entire country from Limerick to Cork, and from the plain of Derrymor to Brandon Hill; and the greater part of the race of Eoghan fled to the woods of Ivahagh, south of the River Lee, and others to Kerry and Thomond. On this occasion the Hy Conail Gabhra fled southwards to the Mangerton mountains."

On top of all this confusion came the migration from their Tipperary homes of the Mac Carthys and the O'Sullivans of which I have already spoken. The exact date of this cannot be fixed. But in the twenty-four years following on 1178 we read of three more attacks by the men of north Munster, one of which, at least, was made in conjunction with the foreigners, against their countrymen south of the Shannon.

Besides the Mac Carthys and O'Sullivans, the Eoghan-

achts of west Limerick, of whom the chief families were the O'Collinses and the O'Donovans, abandoned their homes.

Into the lands thus left vacant came the Anglo-Norman invaders. All south Tipperary, all the plains of Limerick, much of north Kerry were soon secured by their castles.

In the meantime the Irish of south Munster fought among themselves. The O'Sullivans seized on the lands from Bantry to the Laune; the O'Donovans, aided at first by the O'Mahonys, fell on the O'Driscolls and deprived them of much of their territory. Then O'Donovan and O'Mahony quarrelled; and Donncadh O'Mahony was expelled from his lands by the O'Donovans and the English, recovered them by the help of the Mac Carthys, and finally was slain in 1212 by the foreigners.

Twenty years later Donnell Gott Mac Carthy slew three sons of O'Mahony.⁸ Later still, in 1254, we read that Dermot O'Mahony was killed by Fineen Mac Carthy, and O'Donovan, in revenge for Crom O'Donovan, who had been slain by O'Mahony.

The Mac Carthys, too, fell out among themselves. The sons of Donnell Mór na Curra contended with one another for the shadowy kingship of South Munster. In this welter of confusion and bloodshed was born the Lordship of Mac Carthy Reagh.

Donnell Gott, one of the sons of Donnell Mór na Curra, forced his elder brother, Cormac Fionn, to yield to him in full sovereignty the south-eastern part of the territories over which the Gaels still held a precarious sway.⁹ We have seen how, in 1232, he slew three sons of O'Mahony; and he apparently established his authority over the O'Mahonys and O'Driscolls, as well as over the incoming O'Donovans.

On Cormac Fionn's death Donnell Gott succeeded to the headship of the family, but was killed by the English in 1251. Cormac Fionn had left a son, Donnell Roe, who eventually became King of Desmond; but, as he died in 1302, he was probably very young at the time of his father's death. At any rate the headship of the Mac Carthy house remained for some years with the sons of Donnell Gott.

While the Gael fought among themselves, the Norman

⁸ The *Annals of Inisfallen* describe this as an "unneighbourly act."

⁹ Or the final partition may have taken place after the rise to power of Donnell Roe, after the battle of Callan and the death of Fineen of Ringrone.

barons naturally took advantage of their feuds. Advancing along the sea coast they built castles on the most favourable points from Cork harbour as far as Dunkerron, on the Kenmare River. The *Annals of Innisfallen* give a long list of castles built in 1215, after a great attack on the men of south Munster by Donough Cairbreach O'Brien and the English.¹⁰

All the eastern lands of the O'Mahonys, from Cork to Bandon and Kinsale, passed into the hands of the foreigners. Kinsale, Inishannon, Clonakilty and Ross were walled towns. Carews, Barrys, De Coureys, Roches, Arundells, Hodnetts, Barretts,¹¹ and other families held all the coast line. The official English view in Tudor times was that all the Irish of Cork and Kerry, who preserved any vestige of independence, were driven into the valley of Glanerought, in Kerry, where they lived miserably on "white meats" till the dissensions of the English, during the Wars of the Roses, gave them the opportunity of recovering their territory. Of course this official version is false. The turn of the tide came with the victory of Finghin Mac Carthy, in 1261, at Callan Glen. But before that battle the power of Donnell Gott and his successors must have been limited to the hilly inland districts round Dunmanway and Drimoleague. But after Callan all changed. Finghin, indeed, fell in the very next year after his victory, before the great De Courcy castle of Ringrone. This was only a temporary check. The *Annals of Innisfallen* again have lists of castles; but now they are castles destroyed by the Irish, or preserved by them as dwelling places for their chiefs.

We know next to nothing of the history of Carbery during the two centuries which followed on the battle of Callan. Innumerable must have been the fights with the English foe, the surprises of castles, the retaliatory raids of the invaders, the feuds among the native clans. Here, if we only had the records, are the materials for romance. But of all this but the very barest record has survived.

*O combien d'actions, combien d'exploits célèbres
Sont demeurés sans gloire au milieu des ténèbres!*

¹⁰ See Orpen: *Ireland under the Normans*, Vol. III, Chap. xxvii, for these castles.

¹¹ Perhaps the Barretts originally settled near Glandore, and afterwards, in the days of Edward III, acquired their Muskerry lands. See Orpen, Vol. III, p. 129.

Although it is quite impossible to accept the story of a Carew, Marquis of Cork, at a period long prior to the use of such a title

We are left to our imagination for what happened in the years after Callan; Norman ladies, whose father or husband had ridden out to fight and fall, holding their castles against attack, castles and walled towns falling before an Irish onrush, women and little ones perishing in a flaming church—as happened when Brian O'Brien stormed Tipperary in 1336—and, on the other hand, captive Irish chieftains dragged to death at the tails of horses—as was the fate, in 1348, of O'Kennedy and the son of Brian O'Brien.

Munster had its poets and annalists; there must have been in Cork and Kerry—probably one of the richest and most populous parts of the island—a wealth of ancient record, but most of it has now perished. How this has happened we can make a fairly good guess. First there was the devastation of the three Desmond wars in Elizabeth's reign. But this fell chiefly on the men of Norman race. The Irish clans, mostly on the Government side, came through these troubles almost unscathed. But it is to the war of 1641 that we should probably attribute the loss of the greater part of the records which must have existed. When in 1642 the men of Bandon took and plundered Kilbrittain, when in 1647 the Puritans of Inchiquin stormed the Rock of Cashel, and turned the interior of the Cathedral into a shambles, there must have perished a mass of material at whose extent we can only guess. I have already told the story preserved by Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell, in her *Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade*, and this may help us to estimate what has been lost.

The narrator of this incident is the late Sir Ross O'Connell, of Lakeview, Killarney. "Some thirty years ago" would fix the date of the destruction of these records as occurring some time before 1860 or 1850, and the date of the death of the last O'Sullivan Mór, 1762, would throw the incident still farther back, as a son of his could scarcely have lived much beyond 1830. But the anecdote shows to what a comparatively late date records of priceless value survived. One wonders could the destruction of such records have been possible in any other country except Ireland. The madness of our own days has completed the wreck. Whatever store of grants, legal deeds, and other records there may have been for the period 1309 to 1509, of which no Calendar has been given in the printed *Calendars of State Papers*, has perished, along with a mass of material

in England, yet it seems clear that the Carews, successors to FitzStephen's moiety of the Kingdom of Cork, made settlements in the O'Mahony lands, and perhaps farther west. (Orpen, Vol. III., p. 128.)

dealing with the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, by the blowing up of the Record Office in 1922.

Quod non fecerunt Barbari fecerunt Barberini.

“What the Cromwellian and the Orangeman had preserved, Rory O'Connor destroyed.”

We know, however, that the posterity of Donnell Gott maintained and increased their power, until at the opening of the sixteenth century they ruled from Bantry Bay to the tidal waters of the Bandon. In the course of time they had taken the title Mac Carthy Reagh (Riabhach=swarthy) to distinguish them from the senior Mac Carthy line, the posterity of Cormac Fionn.

The territory over which they ruled was known as Carbery. The origin of this name has been disputed, O'Donovan holding that it came in with the O'Donovans, whose tribe name was Ui Cairbre Aedha, and who gave this name to their new homes. Canon O'Mahony denies this, and derives it from a certain Cairbre Riada who flourished in the days of Olioll Olum. Originally applied to the district around Dunmanway, the name spread with the growth of the power of Mac Carthy Reagh, until it was used for all the lands over which he ruled.¹² At the present day Carbery is the largest Barony in Ireland.

The outcome of the tangle of strife which followed on the Anglo-Norman invasion was that, in Tudor times, about one half of the present Barony of Carbery was in the hands of the Mac Carthys, either as demesne land of Mac Carthy Reagh, or as belonging to various Mac Carthy septs, mostly the posterity of Donnell Gott.

Next to them in importance were the O'Donovans, who had spread right across the centre of the country from the borders of Bantry to the sea coast, on which they had won several castles from the English. The O'Mahonys of Carbery had been split asunder. One branch held the present Barony of Kinelmeaky, the other the peninsula of Ivahagh, the extreme south-west limit of the mainland. These branches were independent of each other, and of the fractions of the clan in the basin of the Lee.

The Corca Laidhe had lost most of their lands. One clan of this stock, the O'Learys, had migrated to the district at

¹² “Although since the Mac Carthy Reagh hath encroached upon Coursie, Arundell and Barry Oge what so [ever] hath been gotten by any Carthy Reagh out of these septs hath been falsely termed by the confused name of Carbery” (Justice Jessua Smythes *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1588, p. 510). Compare the statement as to Muskerry in the *Down Survey*.

the head waters of the Lee, which from them took the name of Iveleary, the present parish of Inchigeela. As we have seen, the O'Learys were subjects of the Lords of Muskerry. Others had sunk under the Barrys or under invaders of Gaelic race.¹³ Others had disappeared altogether. The chief clan, that of O'Driscoll, still retained a portion of the former territory of the tribe, around the harbour of Baltimore.

The lands which remained to the O'Driscolls lay along the coast, from Castlehaven Harbour to Roaring Water Bay. They had two main divisions—Collymór under O'Driscoll Mór, Collybeg under O'Driscoll Oge. The boundaries of the former district can be traced with great accuracy from an inquisition taken in 1609, and printed in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*.

Incidentally it may be remarked that this Inquisition shows very clearly that, in Munster at least, the clan lands had accurate boundaries clearly known. With the help of the modern six-inch Ordnance maps it is possible to trace the boundary of Collymore along most of its length so as to show whether any particular fields lay within or without that territory. From this we see that here, at any rate, Dr. Bonn's views as to the shifting and uncertain limits of the clan territories are incorrect.

Starting from a point on the River Ilen a mile or two below Skibbereen, the boundary line ran south-east to the sea, which it reached a short distance to the west of Toe Head. On all other sides Collymore was bounded by water. In fact, a large part of this district was made up of the Islands Clear, Sherkin, and others, in and round Baltimore Bay. The mainland part comprised the parishes of Tullagh and Creagh, and a small part of Castlehaven. Of the 65¹⁴ ploughlands of Collymore 39½ were on the mainland, the rest on the islands. In the time of James the First, more than half the district was in the hands of the chief; the rest was held by various septs of freeholders, who paid chief rents amounting to £18 6s. 7d. These rents were in place of all former Irish exactions. But, in reality, the whole riches of both chief and clansmen came from the sea. The harbour of Baltimore, then as now, was a great fishing centre, frequented by French and Spaniards, as well as by

¹³ The O'Heas and the O'Cowhigs had retained some position under the Barrys. The former held in 1641 the castle of Aghamilla, and a small district called Pubble O'Hea. Many of this surname seem to have anglicised the name to Hayes. We now find Hayes of Co. Limerick and Tipperary, probably of Cromwellian origin, claiming the name O hAedha.

¹⁴ Only 63 ploughlands in Carew's list.

English or Irish. The Inquisition above-mentioned gives a long list of the various dues levied by O'Driscoll on all ships and boats¹⁵ from the Fastnet Rock, west of Cape Clear, to Toe Head, as, for example, "Every ship or boat that fisheth there is to pay to the Lord in money 19s. 2d., a barrel of flour, a barrel of salt, a hogshead of beer, and a dish of fish three times a week from every boat, viz.: Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, and if they dry their fish in any part of the country they are to pay thirteen shillings for the rocks. That if any boat of them do chance to take a 'holly-butt' (halibut) they must give it to the lord for a ball of butter, and if they conceal it from him for 24 hours they forfeit forty shillings to the Lord. That for every beef they kill they pay eight pence, and for every sheep and pig that is killed they pay a penny." These and more exactions take up a page and a half of small print.¹⁶ Moreover, the Lord, if he wanted to buy fish, got it on three days a week "two pence better cheap in every dozen white fish than the ordinary price there is," and so also he got every other commodity at a reduced price, besides the first offer of all goods brought by sea, and of all goods sold by the freeholders of his country. The outside traders had to tender at a reduced price; the freeholders were paid the current price. In like manner the fishermen of the country did not pay nearly such heavy dues as the strangers. Then every ship or barque paid four pence sterling for anchorage dues; and if any wine was landed the Lord took four gallons out of a butt "and no more, though he had forty buttes to one seller," and if he bought wine got a reduction of two pence per gallon.

Details are also given of the division of the rest of the territory among the septs. Sliocht Teige O'Driscoll were freeholders of seven ploughlands wanting two gneeves, Sliocht Donogh O'Driscoll of a quarter, viz., three ploughlands wanting three gneeves, Sliocht Dermot O'Driscoll of a ploughland and a half. Sliocht an Naspigg had three ploughlands, Sliocht Mac Hanyse had two ploughlands, "Mwynter Y-hilligh of Bally Mac Carrane"¹⁷ three plough-

¹⁵ These dues of O'Driscoll were enormous, and would nowadays seem intolerable.

¹⁶ The Inquisition on Owen O'Sullivan Bere shows that he imposed much the same dues, and that the fishing industry must have been very important. Unfortunately much of this Inquisition is illegible.

¹⁷ This Muintir I Hilligh are the modern O'Fihillys. Before the English invasion they had been one of the seven sub-chiefs of O'Driscoll and had ruled the district of Tuath O'Fithcheallaigh, south-west of Clonakilty Bay. (*Misc. Celtic Soc.*, p. 53.)

lands and Sliocht O'Driscoll (possibly the senior sept) had twelve. Finally, Donogh Mac Fyneen ne Longye of Annagh was freeholder of half a ploughland. It is curious to contrast the small possessions of the septs of this small clan with the great scopes of land held by the septs of the Mac Carthys.

There were some eight castles in this district, the chief being Dun-na-sead, now Baltimore, and Dun-na-Long, on Inis Sherkin, which, between them, commanded the entrance to the harbour; while Dun-na-Gall, on Ringarogy Island, commanded the entrance to the River Ilen. On Cape Clear Island was Dun-an-Oir. Collymore paid of old to the Earls of Desmond eight nobles, or, instead, eight beeves; and to Mac Carthy Reagh the usual chief rents, duties, etc., which were all compounded for £27 11s. 11½d. The Inquisition specifies the various sums which made up the total. The names, however, proved too much for the jurors or for their secretary. Cwd Ihye (Cuid Oidhehe) came to £4 13s. 4d.; Dwff Yeeks (Dubh Cios) or black rents to £3 2s. 2½d.; Dolly Sawny and Baultyny or Cesse at May and Michaelmas—here we may recognise Bealtaine and Samhain—came to £19 16s. 5d.

Collybeg lay between the River Ilen and Roaring Water Bay. It contained 34 ploughlands, had one castle, Rincolisky, and paid £10 10s. 11d. to Mac Carthy Reagh.

There was also a small district called Glanbarraghan in possession of a branch of the O'Driscolls, subject apparently to Collymore. There was in it an important castle, now called Castlehaven, commanding the entrance to the bay of that name. This territory had only 5½ ploughlands; and probably ran along the coast from Castlehaven to Collymore. In the time of James I some of the townlands on this strip of coast belonged to the O'Donovans of Clan Cahil; but they may have acquired them after the battle of Kinsale, when the owner of Castlehaven lost his lands as a penalty for having joined the Spaniards.

During the siege of Kinsale an engagement between Spanish and English squadrons took place just below the castle. Very conflicting accounts of the result have come down to us. The castle was granted to Touchet, an Englishman, better known as Earl of Castlehaven, whose son was one of the chief leaders of the Catholics during the war of 1641-1652.

Adjoining Glanbarraghan was the country of the O'Donovans. It ran right across Carbery, from the sea to the River Mealagh, where this stream divides Carbery from

Bantry. This territory contained 131 ploughlands,¹⁸ and included the modern parishes of Drimoleague, Drinagh, Myross and Kilfaunabeg, with large portions of Kilmacabea, Ross and Kilmeen, as well as some parts of Castlehaven and Caheragh.

There were two main divisions of the O'Donovans—Clan Cahil and Clan Loughlin, but their territories were so interlaced that it is not easy to give the exact divisions between them. The 67 ploughlands of Clan Cahil lay to the north and west, with practically the whole parishes of Drimoleague, Drinagh and Myross; Clan Loughlin, with its 54 ploughlands lay to the east of Glandore Harbour. On the coast the lands of the O'Donovans ran from Castletownsend to the Roury River, near Ross. The Lord of Clan Cahil had dues in all the havens of this district from the head of Glandore Harbour westwards; those on the east side of Glandore Harbour belonged to the Lord of Clan Loughlin. Clan Cahil, according to the Inquisition of 1636, paid only £5 6s. 0d. and two-thirds of a “drachma” a year to Mac Carthy Reagh, as well as “a poundage hog,” i.e., one pig from every herd of swine of five or more animals. Clan Loughlin, on the other hand, paid £27 1s. 9½d yearly, besides poundage hogs. Perhaps Clan Cahil paid such a small rent because the O'Donovans had aided the Mac Carthys to make their first settlements in Carbery; or perhaps because, when the lands were divided some time after 1254 between Cathal and Loughlin O'Donovan, the division was so made that the lands that were exempt from contributions were allotted to the senior line.¹⁹

Besides the main divisions of Clan Cahil and Clan Loughlin, the O'Donovans possessed a small district called Glan-i-Vollen, which, according to O'Donovan, in his appendix to the *Four Masters*, corresponded to the present parish of Kilmeen. The grant to O'Donovan of Clan Loughlin, given in the above-mentioned appendix, includes the greater part of this parish; so probably this district was held by a branch of Clan Loughlin. It contained 12 ploughlands.²⁰

The O'Donovans do not seem to have had the same taste for castle-building as the other clans of Carbery. I can

¹⁸ According to *Car. Cal.*, 1599. But the numbers differ slightly for all these territories in the various documents.

¹⁹ The tributes, duties, etc., of the overlords were, as we have seen, attached to the land, not to the occupiers. This is evident from O'Brien's and Mac Namara's Rent Rolls, as well as from the Inquisition of 1636 and the Survey of 1598.

²⁰ *Car. Cal.*, 1599.

find mention of only three in Clan Cahil, Castle Donovan, Castle Iver, and Raheen; this last on Castlehaven Harbour. In Clan Loughlin was Glandore, captured by the Irish from the Barretts.²¹ Smith declares that Banduff Castle, near Rosscarbery, was built by the O'Donovans, but Carew and all other authorities, give it as one of the castles of Mac Carthy Reagh.

The O'Donovans came particularly well out of the troubles of Elizabeth's reign. The grants of James I to the heads of both branches of this clan included chief rents from the O'Mahonys of West Carbery, and from several branches of the Mac Carthys, such as Clan Crimin in the east and Clan Teige Roe in the west. In particular, the castle of Castle Derry and some adjoining lands in Clan Crimin were given to the Lord of Clan Loughlin; but O'Donovan, who quotes the patent, gives no explanation of this circumstance.

West of the O'Donovans were several branches of the Mac Carthys, the chief being Clan Dermod, Clan Teige Roe, and Clan Teige Ilen. The lands of this last, a small district of 27 ploughlands, were on both sides of the River Ilen, round Skibbereen. This latter place itself, however, with the detached part of the parish of Creagh, in which it stands, belonged to Mac Carthy Reagh, who had a castle here called Gortnaclogh. Two or three miles due east he had another castle, Letterinlis,²² and the district round and between the two castles formed part of his demesne land.

This detached piece of Mac Carthy Reagh's demesne gave a very irregular outline to the lands of Clan Teige Ilen;²³ but the district occupied by the Mac Carthys of Clan Dermod was still more straggling in its shape.

From a comparison of the names of the townlands in the Inquisition of 1636 with the names on the modern Ordnance maps, it would seem that Clan Dermod included the whole parish of Kilcoe, at the head of Roaring Water Bay, and

²¹ O'Donovan, in Appendix to *Four Masters*.

Septs of the O'Donovans are mentioned as follows in the Inquisition of 1607:—Sliocht Ranell O'Donovan; Sliocht Dermody Roe O'D.; Sliocht Teig Mac Nicholl O'D. There was also the Sliocht of Clan Connelly holding 7 pl. lds. The septs first mentioned held very small scopes of land. Jas. I's Grant gives Sliocht Aedh with 6 pl. lds.

²² Smith. Letterinlis, or at any rate the townlands round it, belonged to Mac Carthy Reagh when the inquisition so often cited was taken in 1636. *Pacata Hibernia*, however, calls it the property of Conogher, son of Sir Fineen O'Driscoll.

²³ Clan Teige Ilen included most of Abbeystowery and a few of the southern townlands in Caheragh. They paid £7 1s. 1½d., besides poundage hogs.

west of Collybeg. From this parish it ran eastward, being bounded on the south by Clan Teige Ilen. The greater part of the southern portion of Caheragh was thus in this territory. East of the Ilen, it included the detached portion of Caheragh, and a considerable district in Castlehaven, as well as some townlands in Kilmacabea, so that it almost reached to the sea again at the head of Glandore Harbour. Unless we suppose that the lands of this clan were in two detached portions, their country must have included the northern part of Abbeystrowery parish, but the names in the Inquisition throw no light on this. Thus the Clan Dermod had as boundaries to the east the country of the O'Donovans, and to the south O'Driscoll Oge, Clan Teige Ilen, and Mac Carthy Reagh's demesne round Letterinlis.

Two castles in this district figure largely in the operations before and after the battle of Kinsale, namely, Kilcoe and Cloghan. The Ordnance map shows the former, on an islet at the head of Roaring Water Bay; the latter has been identified by Mr. Gillman as standing near the River Ilen.²⁴ The Ordnance maps show that there was also a castle in the townland of Ballyouvane, which was part of this territory.

Clan Teige Roe lay west of the Ilen, and north of Clan Dermod, thus including the northern part of Caheragh. The barony of Bantry was its northern boundary. The castles of Skart and Baur Gorm, in the parish of Kilmocomoge, were certainly in this district; that of Coul-na-long, at the head of Dunmanus Bay, belonged, according to Smith, to a branch of the Clan Carthy called Muclagh. There was another castle close to this, on the coast, Rossmore. The Mac Carthys of Muclagh were an offshoot of the Clan Teige Roe. The parish of Durrus, the north of Caheragh, and the Carbery part of Kilmocomoge, constituted the territory of Clan Teige Roe. Judge Trant Mac Carthy gives very full particulars as to this sept. Clan Teige Roe had only 18 ploughlands, and paid £4 9s. 0d. and one-third of a "drachma" to Mac Carthy Reagh, while £24 11s. 1½d. were paid by the 63 ploughlands of Clan Dermod.

The lands of this group of septs of the Clan Carthy only touched the sea at three points—at the head of Roaring Water and of Dunmanus bays, and for a mile or two on the shore of Bantry Bay, south-west of the territory of O'Sullivan Bere.

The wild peninsula between Dunmanus and Bantry bays was known as Muintir Bairre, from a branch of the O'Dris-

²⁴ See his article in *Journal of Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 173.

coll stock, the O'Bairres, who had held it in early times. In Tudor times this district—the present parish of Kilcroghan—was held by a branch of the great bardic family of O'Daly. This widely scattered clan had lands in Desmond, Muskerry, the Earl of Desmond's country, Thomond, and Clanrickarde, all held by them in virtue of their office as hereditary bards to the chiefs of these countries.²⁵ It is curious that in Thomond their home of Kinvarra was just such a wild promontory as Muintir Bairre, while in Kerry they seem to have chosen the solitudes of Slieve Luachra as being the fittest dwelling for followers of the poetic art. In Muintir Bairre they had a castle, near which the Ordnance map shows a great enclosure which is styled "O'Daly's bardic school."

In *Pacata Hibernia* it is mentioned that O'Daly was arrested on the march of the English to Dunboy, and committed for trial on a charge of trying to win over some of the Irish troops to the side of the revolted chiefs. No details are given of his fate; but several O'Dalys are given in the list of forfeiting proprietors in 1641, so that probably he was not severely dealt with. It is noticeable that the Inquisition of 1636 makes no mention of any chief rents received by Mac Carthy Reagh from the 36 ploughlands of the O'Dalys. As bards, the O'Dalys held their lands free from all or nearly all duties.²⁶

The large peninsula between Dunmanus and Roaring Water bays, known as Ivagh, was held by O'Mahony Fine. A minor sept, the Sliocht Teige O'Mahony, had an inland district, containing 36 ploughlands, and lying south of Clan Teige Roe, and west of Clan Dermot. This sept paid yearly £7 8s. 8d. to Mac Carthy Reagh, while he got £23 18s. 9½d. from the 105 ploughlands of O'Mahony Fine. The country of these O'Mahonys corresponded to the parishes of Schull and Kilmore. This clan seems to have had a perfect mania for castle building. Almost every headland on the rocky coast of Ivagh was crowned by a castle, many of which still remain in fairly perfect condition.

The inhabitants of all this coast line were given to

²⁵ In the notes to *Irish Topographical Poems* it is stated that all the various branches of the O'Dalys sprang from a family originally settled in Westmeath. There were still O'Dalys, land-owners, in Westmeath in Elizabeth's time in Dalton's Country, i.e., the barony of Rathconrath.—*Fiants*, 1590, No. 5432.

²⁶ There is an entry in the Inquisition of chief rents amounting to £3 9s. from Twovintirry-doreke. This might pass for an attempt at Tuath Muintervarry. But Mr. J. M. Burke says it is Tuath Muintir O'Doirce, between Baltimore and Castlehaven.

piracy;²⁷ and one at least of these strongholds of the O'Mahonys—Rossbrin—was confiscated in Elizabeth's time for the piracy of its lord.²⁸

Rossbrin was the first castle of the O'Mahonys on the west side of Roaring Water Bay. Proceeding westward we come to Ardintenant, the residence of the lord, and opposite was another fortress on the island now called Castle Island. Further on were Leamcon and castles in the townlands of Goleen and Castlemehigan. At the extremity of the peninsula is Three Castle Head, so called from the three towers, the ruins of which stand upon it. Finally, on Dunmanus Bay were Dunmanus and Dunbeacon.

A very full account of the O'Mahonys has been given by Canon O'Mahony in the work already mentioned. Some curious details, however, seem worth giving from the Inquisition of 1636. Fifty-five ploughlands of O'Mahony lands paid to Mac Carthy Reagh eight shillings and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a drachma "anglice two Bungalls" each. It appears that the "drachma" equalled fourpence.

Then follows a list of lands much more lightly taxed. The twelve ploughlands of Schull paid only a shilling each; then there was one paying one and sixpence, one paying ninepence, three paying one and elevenpence each, and, finally, nine denominations, each of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, paying one and elevenpence for each denomination.²⁹

On the other hand the rate for the lands of Sliocht Teige O'Mahony was five and sixpence per ploughland.

For the other Carbery territories the rate varied greatly, going as high as twenty-six shillings for one ploughland in Clan Shane. In general there was a standard rate for each territory.³⁰ It would be interesting to examine the relation between the rate and the number of acres in the ploughland.

In the territory of the O'Mahonys were located some minor septs, such as the O'Mehigans. Carrig O'Glavin, which paid Mac Carthy Reagh a chief rent of $1/11$, takes its name from the family of O'Glavin who, according to Cox, were stewards to Mac Carthy Reagh, and from whom Mizen Head was called Carrig O'Glavin. Canon O'Mahony holds that

²⁷ See the various conflicts of the O'Driscolls with the city of Waterford, as given in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*.

²⁸ Smith says it was taken by Sir G. Carew; but from the *Cal. State Papers* it appears that it was forfeited in the fourth year of Elizabeth (1587, p. 425).

²⁹ As is noticeable also in parts of the *Desmond Survey*, the actual items given in the Inquisition do not agree with the total stated.

³⁰ Thus 7s. 4d. a ploughland was the usual rate for Collymore, though lower or higher rates were assessed on some ploughlands. Cape Clear was assessed at 7s. 6d. per ploughland.

O'Mahony was also overlord of the O'Daly lands in Muintervarry, and the fact that O'Mahonys were among the proprietors in 1641 bears out this belief.

The clans we have been hitherto considering held all West Carbery, and some part of the west division of East Carbery. By far the greater part of the rest of the barony was in the hands of various branches of the Mac Carthys, or demesne land of the chief.

The district round Dunmanway, in the north-west angle of the barony, was called Glan-a-Chroim, and was held by a sept known as Mac Carthy Glas, or the green Mac Carthy.³¹ This sept owned 52 ploughlands, and had at least two castles, Dunmanway and Togher. A great deal of information about these Mac Carthys is contained in a work by a modern representative of this family, *The Historical Pedigree of the Mac Carthys of Glen a Croim*, by Mr. Daniel Mac Carthy Glas, whose other work, *The Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy More*, is well known to all students of the history of Munster. In one respect he has been led astray by family partiality: he asserts that Mac Carthy Glas paid no dues and was in no way subject to Mac Carthy Reagh. But from the list of Mac Carthy's chief rents in 1636, which I have so often quoted, it appears that the overlord got yearly £10 1s. 0d. out of this sept.

North of the Bandon River, and east of Glan-a-Chroim, dwelt a small clan, the O'Crowleys. Their country, Kilshallow by name, comprised the east part of Fanlobbus, and the west of Kinneigh parishes, the small stream of the Blackwater running through its centre. The chief's house, Castle Crowley, was in the former parish, close to its north-eastern corner. This clan held 32 ploughlands, and paid a chief rent of £9 4s. 4d. to the overlord.

East of the O'Crowleys, the map of Muskerry places Mac Ingen Auras' country. O'Donovan, in his appendix to the *Four Masters*, appears to identify this sept with the Mac Carthys of Clan Crimin. If he is right the map is altogether wrong, for the lands of Clan Crimin lay a good way to the south of the Bandon River, along the small stream of the Arigideen. By comparing the names of townlands in the Inquisition of 1636 with those on the Ordnance maps, it appears that the immediate neighbours of the O'Crowleys to the east were the Sliocht Cormac ny Kelly; and possibly it is to them that the name of Mac Ingen Auras was applied. They were a Mac Carthy sept, holding only 13 ploughlands, and paying £3 5s. 0½d. to Mac Carthy Reagh.

³¹ Particulars of this district have been given in the *Journal of the Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 2nd series, Vol. I, page 481.

Still keeping north of the Bandon River and going east we come to the territory called Tuath Iniskean, round the modern village of that name. In the list in the *Carew Calendar* it is said to contain 12 ploughlands, and to be escheated. Among the lands granted to Sir Cormac Mac Teige of Muskerry in 1578 we find the manor of Iniskean, and "Iniskien" is mentioned in his will among the lands "attained or purchased by me," and was by him left to Donnell Mac Owen Mac Swiny, chief of his gallowglasses. There is no mention of Iniskean in the Inquisition of 1636. Hence the statement in Cox's *Regnum Corcagiense* that Tuath Iniskean was among the demesne lands left by Sir Donough Mac Carthy Reagh to his son, the celebrated Florence, would seem to be wrong.³²

Other districts said in the *Carew Calendar* to be among the lands of the Mac Carthys were Sliocht Glasse, containing 14½ ploughlands, Tuath Ny Killie, 16 pl.lds, "supposed to be escheated;" Tuath Bally Ny Deyghie, 13 pl.lds; Sliocht Enesles Mc Crowin, 7 pl.lds., and some smaller denominations, containing in all 12 pl.lds. Some of these latter were in the parish of Ballymoney; the rest I cannot identify, except the Sliocht Enesles Mc Crowin which, though given by Carew as a Mac Carthy sept, seems rather to be the Slught Eneslis Mac Ieroyrn of the O'Donovan Inquisition of 1607. This sept, according to O'Donovan, was a branch of the O'Donovans, its real name being Sliocht Aneslis-mic a' Chroim.³³

South of the Bandon river, with Kilshallow on the north, and Glan-i-Vollen, on the south, was the small district, only 9 ploughlands, held by the Mac Carthys of Sliocht Corky. Most of the parish of Ballymoney was in their hands; the rest being demesne land of the overlord, or held by individual Mac Carthys. This sept paid a yearly chief rent of £4 9s. 6d.³⁴

South of the Bandon river, and west of O'Mahony's country of Kinelmeaky, were the 7 ploughlands of Clan Shane. This district was counted as part of the demesne in Elizabeth's time,³⁵ but by 1636 it had passed out of Mac Carthy Reagh's hands, paying him, however, the comparatively large rent of £7 3s. 3d.

³² The grant to Mac Swiny does not seem to have been effectual, for the manor of Iniskean was included in the grant to Sir Cormac Mac Dermot of Muskerry in 1589 (*C. H. S. J.*, Vol I, p. 199).

³³ O'Donovan: Appendix to *Four Masters*.

³⁴ Mac Carthy Reagh had small chief rents from several lands in this parish. See also *Car. Cal.*, 1599.

³⁵ *Car Cal.*, 1599.

The only important sept of the Mac Carthys in the east division of East Carbery was the Clan Crimin. Their country, apparently, extended from the borders of Sliocht Corky to the boundary of Barry Roe, near Timoleague.³⁶ In this district they had at least two castles—Castle Derry and Ballinorougher. A large portion of their country, containing the former castle, was included in King James's grant to O'Donovan of Clan Loughlin; but this sept of Mac Carthys remained powerful until the Cromwellian confiscations. Their lands in 1636 were estimated at 32½ ploughlands, from which Mac Carthy Reagh received £16 5s. 8d. yearly. The head of this sept was executed by the Cromwellians on a charge of murder, committed in 1641.

In the year 1599 the demesne land of Mac Carthy Reagh was 70½ ploughlands in extent. The great mass of this was in the eastern part of Carbery between the River Bandon and Courtmaesherry Bay, but he had also large tracts round Clonakilty, Rossearbery, and Skibbereen.³⁷

It deserves attention that, in Carbery, Muskerry, and Duhallow, the chief residences of the lords, and the greater part of their demesne lands, lay in the eastern part of their territories, *i.e.*, on the frontiers of the English settlers. Most, indeed, of the principal Mac Carthy castles had been won from the English, and the eastern position of their demesnes will be accounted for if we suppose that the greater part of each new conquest fell to the chief.

Kilbritten, Mac Carthy Reagh's chief fortress, with a large tract around it, had been taken from the De Coureys. This conquest must have taken place in comparatively recent times, for, when Smith wrote, this district was not included in the barony of Carbery, but was classed by itself as the Cantred of Kilbritten. In it were also the castles of Coolmain, Kilgobban, and Carriganassig, while on the Kinalea side of the Bandon river Mac Carthy held the castle of Dundaniel.³⁸ Other castles in his hands were Gortnaclogh,³⁹ Letterinlis,⁴⁰ Burren (near Timoleague), Banduff,⁴¹

³⁶ I have not been able to make out the exact boundaries in these eastern districts.

³⁷ The total for Carbery, including Kinelmeaky, given by Carew is 879 ploughlands. Of these 70½ demesne; 299 septs of the Clan Carthy; 141 O'Mahonys; 131 O'Donovans, 102½ O'Driscolls; 63 O'Mahony of Kinelmeaky.

³⁸ Or Dundanier, see account of this castle by Mr. Gillman in the *Journal of the Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*

³⁹ Inquisition, 1636.

⁴⁰ He at any rate held the townlands around the castle (1636).

⁴¹ Smith.

and perhaps Downeen, or the "Downings,"⁴² a castle on a sea-girt rock near Rossearbery.⁴³

Carew mentions one more sub-clan in Carbery—the O'Murrihys of Ballywiddan, with 4 ploughlands. I have met with no other mention of this insignificant clan.

The town of Ross originally an English settlement, maintained some sort of existence, in spite of the ravages of its Irish neighbours, down to the sixteenth century. In an article contributed by the Rev. Father Hurley, P.P., to the *Journal of the Cork Historical Society* on the Blessed Thaddeus Mac Carthy, Ross is described as containing nearly 200 houses, surrounded by a wall,⁴⁴ and it would seem from the same article that the "city," with its castles and fortifications, was the property of the bishops. This would, of course, explain its existence during the period of about 200 years during which the English had no footing in West Cork.⁴⁵

Just as the survey of the lands of Mac Carthy Mór gives us a picture of the revenues and rights of an Irish chief, and of the whole fiscal arrangement of his country, before it was brought under the power of the Crown, so does the Inquisition made in 1636 give us a very clear idea of the state of a large number of "Irish Countries," after they had been brought under English law, in Elizabeth's reign. In the first place, the overlord was deprived of all his seigniories, cuttings and spendings, rights of quartering soldiers, etc.—in short, of all his "Irish exactions," as the various compositions call them. He was thus deprived of all feudal or tribal jurisdiction, and became an ordinary subject of the crown. As compensation for the loss, he was granted, firstly, all the castles and lands then in his possession either as private property, or in virtue of his chieftainship, and was to hold these according to English laws of inheritance, *i.e.*, they were to pass to his children, to the exclusion of the tanist, who was generally a nephew or cousin of the chief, and often on bad terms with him.⁴⁶ Very probably, the

⁴² O'Donovan.

⁴³ A townland, "Downyne," is mentioned in the Inquisition of 1636.

The demesne lands of Mac Carthy Reagh are thus given: Kilbrittane, 18 pl. lds.; Banduffe, 7; Gortnycloghy, 8; Downdanier, 3; Montin, 10½; Kilgobban, 4; Cuilnepissy, 2; Clan Shane Roe, 7; Slught Owen, 6; Slught Donoghe, 5.

⁴⁴ This would seem to be in 1517. Ross, except the Bishop's lands, had been granted to the Roches by FitzStephen and De Cogan (Smith).

⁴⁵ Roughly speaking, 1350-1550.

⁴⁶ Of course, technically, this was a fraud on the clan, for whom the chief was a trustee, having the mensal lands only for his life.

chief managed to include in his grant any unappropriated parts of the tribal land, and also the lands of the poorer clansmen. Secondly, he got a fixed chief rent, payable out of all the country over which he had formerly ruled. In Connaught this was, as a rule, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. an acre, or five shillings out of every 120 acres.⁴⁷ But in Carbery, where, perhaps, the chiefs had already compounded with their subjects for a fixed money rent, instead of their cuttings and spendings, no uniform system seems to have been followed. Mac Carthy Reagh was entitled in all to £208 14s. 1½d. yearly as chief rent, besides a "poundage hog," or one hog out of every herd of five or upwards, in certain districts, and, in the eastern districts of Carbery at any rate, to certain measures of wheat, and to free ploughing of a certain amount of land.⁴⁸ We must remember that rents in the sixteenth century in Ireland, though assessed in money, were generally paid in cattle; and that, for the greater part of Elizabeth's reign, the rate was three cows to the pound. Taking this to have been the rate when Mac Carthy's chief rents were fixed, we will get a better idea of his income by saying that he received every year over 624 cows, besides pigs, and measures of oats from the barony of Carbery, in addition to the rents of his own private estates, and the value of the free ploughing.

In addition to this, the chiefs often got various feudal rights, such as the wardship of the heirs of all land-owners in their former territory. Sometimes, too, the other proprietors were to hold their lands by knight's service from the former chief, being liable then to the various feudal incidents.⁴⁹ After the suppression of the Desmond rebellion both Mac Carthy Mór and Mac Carthy Reagh claimed that the lands of such of their followers as had been killed in rebellion should fall to them, and not to the Crown, as they were the feudal superiors of these followers. The Crown so far acknowledged the justice of this claim as to

But, on the other hand, the clan were freed from all the oppressive rights of the chief, and in reality the only losers were those who might have succeeded to the chieftainship by the rule of tanistry.

⁴⁷ In some cases 3s. per 120 acres, in others 10s., or even 13s. 4d. See *Composition of Connaught*, in Appendix to O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*.

⁴⁸ Smith says £300 a year chief rent. My figures are from the Inquisition of 1636. A "pork" was valued at $\frac{1}{3}$ of a "drachma," i.e., at 1½d. This was called a "bungall," and was equivalent to the "white groat" of the *Desmond Survey*.

⁴⁹ In other cases, as apparently in Carbery, they held directly from the Crown, though paying chief rents to their former lords. It would be interesting to know whether any of these chief rents still exist.

give Mac Carthy Mór the lands of O'Donoghue Mór and of Mac Carthy of Cosh Maing; and though Mac Carthy Reagh's petition was denied, this was on a legal quibble; so that the Government seems to have admitted that these two chiefs were entitled to any lands forfeited by their subjects.⁵⁰

When the overlords were thus disposed of, the Government proceeded to deal on the same lines with the chiefs of the subject clans. In Connaught this was done at once, in 1585 and the following years; but in Carbery the process may have been a gradual one; at any rate the final settlement of the O'Donovans was not until the thirteenth year of James I. Here much the same process was followed. The chief got his own private lands, and the lands and castles he held as chief, and in Carbery at any rate, chief rents from the rest of the clan territory. In Connaught, indeed, the lesser chiefs were not so liberally treated, as a rule, in the matter of chief rents, etc.; but, on the other hand, the "Irish exactions" were not to cease until the death of the reigning chief. These chief rents amounted to £45 13s. 8½d. in the case of O'Donovan of Clan Cahil, and £9 2s. 3½d. for O'Donovan of Clan Loughlin. Besides, both chiefs were secured in the enjoyment of all the dues which they had levied of old in the harbours under their rule.⁵¹

O'Driscoll of Collymore, too, appears to have still enjoyed in the sixth year of James I all the dues formerly levied by his ancestors on ships, and received chief rents to the amount of £18 5s. 11d. From this we may conclude that the sub-chiefs of Carbery were in general left as many of their former rights as were consistent with the abolition of their old semi-independent status.

The residue of the land was divided amongst those who actually held it by Irish law or custom. This is not explicitly stated of Carbery. But it is evident from the grants of chief rents to the two O'Donovans from lands in Clan Cahil and Clan Loughlin. If the chiefs had got all the clan land there would have been no object in making these grants of rent. In some cases, too, the persons who held the lands

⁵⁰ Of course both chiefs claimed under English law, Mac Carthy Mór probably under his grant of 1565. At the same time, they had fully preserved their authority as Irish chiefs, which did not really lapse until after the battle of Kinsale. Both these Mac Carthy chiefs were strong supporters of the royal cause against the Desmonds, and were not backward in sending in their claims for reward.

⁵¹ See for the O'Donovans the Appendix to O'Donovan's *Four Masters*.

liable to chief rents are mentioned, namely, minor septs of the O'Donovans, etc.⁵²

But from what took place in Connaught, we can judge of how matters were arranged in Carbery. According to Walsingham's directions, each chief was to have as much as is his own, with a *salvo jure* to all others that have right. And so we find that in Galway Sir Murrough ne Doe O'Flaherty as overlord of Joyce Country got certain demesne lands therein, free of all rents to the Queen, and a chief rent of 5s. per 120 acres out of most of the barony; the immediate chief of the Joyces got some land free of all rents to the Queen or O'Flaherty; and, finally the rest of the freeholders were to hold their lands of O'Flaherty by knight's service according to his or their portion of land.⁵³

Of course, two things interfered with the carrying out of this settlement. The chiefs and richer men were probably able to get more than their fair share of land; and, secondly, the English statesmen of the day had a curious aversion to small properties.⁵⁴ In Sir J. Davies' account of the settlement of Monaghan and Fermanagh he makes this clear; anyone who could only show right to anything under 60 acres got no land at all. In this way many of the poorer clansmen were deprived of their due share; yet the number cannot have been as great as is popularly supposed. In Wexford⁵⁵ only 667 persons claimed land in the 275,000 acres⁵⁶ held by the Irish clans, and of these 200 did not appear to prosecute their claim. So that 450 people felt that they had a good claim to land out of a population of over 16,000.

We possess detailed accounts of the final settlement of Monaghan, and of the proposed settlement of Fermanagh

⁵² Of O'Driscolls are mentioned (Inquisition in *Miscellany of Celtic Society*) Sliocht Teige O'Driscoll, Sliocht Dermody O'Driscoll, Sliocht Donoghy O'Driscoll, Sliocht-en-Naspigg, Sliocht Mac Hanyse, Muintir-y-hilligh, Sliocht O'Driscoll (probably the one to which the lord belonged), and Donoghoe Mac Fyneen ne Longe.

⁵³ Appendix to O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, where this "Composition of Connaught" is given at great length.

⁵⁴ "The multitude of small freeholders beggars the country" (*Cal. St. Paps.*, 1611). In Wexford and Longford few get less than 100 acres, none less than 60 acres. It appears from the State Papers that these acres equal one and a half English statute acres; and, apparently, unprofitable land was not counted.

⁵⁵ Ample details of this Wexford plantation are given in the *Cal. St. Paps.* (1615-25), and in Miss Hickson's book, *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, and in my *Confiscation in Irish History*.

⁵⁶ I take the modern acreage. The surveyors of James I counted only 66,800 profitable acres.

and Cavan, which was, however, never carried out, being interfered with by the plantation of Ulster. These I refer to more fully in the following chapter. Of Longford and Wexford, too, we have ample details, but here the final arrangement was much interfered with by the confiscation of one-fourth of the land for a plantation of Englishmen.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, there seem to be no details of the settlement of Desmond and Carbery; perhaps, here, the rights of the lesser landowners were settled amongst themselves, and the English law merely confirmed existing arrangements.

It would be interesting to know what proportion of the land in Carbery was left to the smaller proprietors. The chief rents granted to O'Donovan of Clan Cahil amounted to £45 13s. 8½d. and certain measures of oats, while the Lord of Clan Loughlin got £9 2s 3½d.⁵⁸ These, at the low rates at which chief rents were then fixed, would show that a very considerable amount of land was divided among the clan; but unfortunately a great many of the lands paying these rents were, as I have said before, in the hands of O'Mahonys or Mac Carthys, so that we cannot be certain how much came from lands held by the O'Donovan clansmen.⁵⁹ However, it seems clear from the document dealing with Collymore that about half that territory was in 1609 divided amongst the various septs of the clan of O'Driscoll.⁶⁰ The final result of the changes in Carbery was that in 1641 there were over 400 proprietors of Irish descent in the barony.⁶¹

One great advantage which the Mac Carthys reaped from their support of the English power against the Desmonds was that they were freed from all the claims put forward by the Earls of Desmond and the Carews to the ownership of the Mac Carthy countries. Henry II had granted all Cork and Kerry to De Cogan and FitzStephen, leaving nothing to the Irish. The Desmonds claimed to be their representatives, and actually held nearly half these coun-

⁵⁷ These plantations of Longford and Wexford were a most scandalous robbery of the natives. Much more than one-fourth were seized for English planters; in Wexford over 300 of the Irish landowners lost their whole property.

⁵⁸ In O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, Appendix.

⁵⁹ O'Donovan of Clan Cahil got 1s. 10d. out of each of 27 pl. lds. of Sliocht Teige O'Mahony. At least £40 of his chief rents came from his own clansmen.

⁶⁰ Ownership was still in part collective. The sliocht or sept was liable for the chief rent, not the individual, in many cases.

⁶¹ List in O'Hart's *Irish Landed Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland*.

tries.⁶² They had succeeded in forcing Mac Carthy Mór to promise to pay them a rent of £214 11s. 2d. for his territory; though it is very doubtful if they ever saw much of the money.⁶³ From Carbery the Desmonds claimed aid in war and certain beeves yearly, and the latter were paid even long after the fall of the Desmonds, for Elizabeth granted all or part of the beeves to Florence Mac Carthy, and it is mentioned in Cox's *Regnum Corcagiense* that late in the seventeenth century this "slavish tribute" was still paid. We learn incidentally that eight of these beeves were levied from the O'Driscolls of Collymore.⁶⁴

Besides, the Desmonds never seem to have given up the idea of making themselves masters of the whole of Cork and Kerry. As late as 1521 they invaded Muskerry with the avowed intention of expelling the natives, and seizing on the land. But the common danger brought the Lord of Carbery to the rescue of his kinsman of Muskerry; and the two chiefs utterly routed the invaders near Mourne Abbey, and slew more than a thousand of their fighting men, to the great delight of the English Government. Then came Sir Peter Carew, claiming to be the rightful lord of both Geraldine and Mac Carthy lands. This provoked a rebellion in which, probably for the first time, Mac Carthy Mór and the Geraldines fought on the same side. But the alliance did not last long; the Mac Carthys submitted to the Government, and seem to have come to terms with Carew, while they sent all their forces to aid in the reduction of the great Desmond fortress of Castlemaine.⁶⁵

Henceforward Elizabeth adhered fairly consistently to the principle first adopted by Henry VIII—that an Irishman might hold land in Ireland, and that each occupier was to be confirmed in the possession of what he actually held, provided that he should first surrender such lands, and apply for a regrant of them.⁶⁶

In one particular the power of Mac Carthy Reagh suf-

⁶² With, it would seem, a very indifferent title.

⁶³ The Knights of Kerry claimed chief rents out of the barony of Magunihy and from the MacGillieuddys, evidently relics of former Geraldine supremacy.

⁶⁴ *Inquisition*, p. 106, *Miscellany, Celtic Society*.

⁶⁵ *Four Masters*, 1572.

⁶⁶ This policy of Henry VIII must have seemed as monstrous to the English of his day as it would to the modern South African colonist if it were declared by the Home Government that the rightful owners of Johannesburg and Kimberley were the native Kafir inhabitants. It swept away the claims of the Desmonds, Ormonds, and Kildares to the ownership of most of Munster and Leinster.

ferred in Elizabeth's reign. He was confined to the limits of the modern barony of Carbery, and lost the rights which he claimed or actually possessed over some of the adjacent districts.

Just as in the case of Muskerry we found the small territory of Barretts in a state of dependence on the Mac Carthys, so the lords of Carbery had obtained a certain supremacy over some lords of Anglo-Norman descent. Of the various invading families to whom the first grantees of the kingdom of Cork had parcelled out their dominions, the greater number of those to whose share lands west of Cork Harbour had fallen failed to make good their claims against the original native owners. At first, if we can trust the Dublin Annals called "Of Inisfallen," and a letter alleged to have been addressed by the citizens of Cork to the Duke of York, a number of Anglo-Norman lords had settled along the coast.

But, by the 16th century, all these had disappeared with two exceptions, the Barrys and the De Courcys. With the latter we need not concern ourselves here. For long the most vigorous opponents of the Irish, they had finally been overpowered by the Mac Carthys, and confined within the narrow limits of the modern Barony of Courcys. Kilbrittain itself, the chief residence of Mac Carthy Reagh, is said once to have been a De Courcy stronghold.

The Barrys, the chief seat of whose power was in East Cork, had also received large grants in the west. An Inquisition, quoted by Smith, says that they held under De Courcy the territories of Kinelea, Kinelmeaky and Iflanloe. These, as we have seen, were the original lands of the O'Mahonys and their kinsmen. Whether the Barrys ever made the grant of Kinelmeaky and Iflanloe effectual, does not appear; but in the sixteenth century they had no hold on these districts.

Kinelea, however, they conquered and held by building numerous castles.

Farther west, the two peninsulas of Ibawn and Barryroe, formerly lands of the Corca Laidhe, had been colonised by Barrys, Arundels and Hodnetts. Some Irish septs, such as the O'Heas, were allowed to remain as their vassals. The new settlers fell out among themselves, until finally the Barrys, by the simple process of exterminating the greater part of their rivals, obtained the lordship of the two districts.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ They left a few freeholders—Arundels, Hodnetts, etc. The Lord Arundel of the Strand still held some lands here in Elizabeth's time (Spenser's *State of Ireland*).

Following Irish ways in all things, the Barrys split up into several branches. The Lord of Kinelea took the name Barry Oge, Barry Roe ruled over the coast districts. They acknowledged at most only a nominal allegiance to the head of the family, Barry Mór.

No doubt, aided by these divisions, Mac Carthy Reagh pushed his conquests eastwards to the Bandon River, and even crossed it, apparently forcing Barry Oge to become his vassal.

The castle of Dundanier,⁶⁸ on the Kinelea side of the River Bandon served to secure his new conquests. On the sea coast the capture of Clonakilty severed Ibane from Barryroe, the taking of Kilbrittain separated the Barrys of the coast from the De Courcys. The latter family succeeded in preserving their independence, and a small part of their former lands, but apparently Barry Roe had to purchase safety by becoming subject to Mac Carthy, whose rule now stretched from Bantry Bay to within a few miles of Carrigaline. On this whole line of coast only the town of Kinsale and the De Courcys still remained subject to England.⁶⁹

Now, in the sixteenth century the line of the Barrys of Barry Mór died out, and the Barry of Barry Roe succeeded to Barrymór. Being now one of the most powerful lords in Munster he would naturally wish to throw off all further dependence on Mac Carthy Reagh, and in this he would be supported by the Crown, which aimed at breaking up the great Irish lordships, by detaching from them the subject clans. As Mac Carthy could show no legal title to Barryroe or Kinelea both these districts would be freed from his rule.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ It does not at all appear that Mac Carthy Reagh only obtained this castle after the Desmond rebellion, for Barry Oge did not lose much, if anything, after this event. Barry Oge was still the great landowner in Kinelea down to 1641. It seems much more probable the Mac Carthy Reagh took the castle from Barry Oge during the two centuries when the English power was only nominal in Munster.

⁶⁹ My authority for this is *A Breviate of the Getting of Ireland*, which gives Barry Oge and Barry Roe as vassals of Mac Carthy Reagh. This refers to the early sixteenth century. In Elizabeth's day Mac Carthy Reagh seems to have had no control over any Barry lands, but kept Dundanier.

⁷⁰ This would reconcile the statement in the *Breviate* and the state of affairs in Elizabeth's time. We have but little knowledge of the history of West Cork in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But it is certain that in the thirteenth century the English power was pretty well established on both sides of the Bandon river, and along the coast; and that about 1500 all this territory was once more practically independent.

Hence none of these Barry territories are mentioned in the Inquisition of 1636. Yet, it is noteworthy that in a grant by James I to Sir James Sempell of the lands and chiefries of the lords of Carbery, apparently in trust for Mac Carthy Reagh, though this is not expressly stated, is included the sum of £1 9s. 0½d. out of each of 65 ploughlands in the cantred of Ibawne.⁷¹

Kinelea had numerous castles, mostly built by the Barrys; but some by other families, such as the Roches.⁷² It contained one town, Inishannon, which seems to have kept some sort of existence during the worst days of the English colony in Munster.

The small districts of Ibawn and Barryroe were also full of castles—Timoleague, Courtmacsherry, Castle Arundell, and Rathbarry were the most important. Smith says there were seven on the cliffs near Galley Head. Most of these probably consisted merely of a square tower, and an enclosure or bawn.

We have seen already that the O'Mahonys in the watershed of the Lee passed under the lordship of Mac Carthy of Muskerry. Those of Kinelmeaky, if ever conquered by the Barrys, soon recovered their independence. In the sixteenth century their lands amounted to 63 ploughlands.⁷³

Although, as I have said, the principal Irish clans in Munster fought on the English side against the Geraldines, not all of the lesser chiefs pursued this prudent course. Amongst the partisans of the Earl of Desmond in the rebellion of 1579 was O'Mahony of Kinelmeaky. He was slain during the rebellion, and in due course his lands, or rather those of his clan, were confiscated. They were to be divided like the rest of the forfeited lands, amongst English "Undertakers." But here Mac Carthy Reagh interposed. He, not O'Mahony, he said, was the real owner of Kinelmeaky. O'Mahony was his feudal tenant, or even his tenant at will, and could only forfeit his interest, the territory then reverting to Mac Carthy Reagh. This claim could not possibly be supported by Irish law; but Mac Carthy Reagh knew that there was little chance of the English officials discovering this.

Whether he had any title according to English law has been discussed at great length by Canon O'Mahony in the work already referred to. Canon O'Mahony denies that

⁷¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 13th James I, p. 288.

⁷² According to Smith, Dunderrow and Shippool castles belonged to the Roches.

⁷³ *Car. Cal.*, 1599, p. 352.

Mac Carthy Reagh had any rights whatsoever over Kinelmeaky; and certainly, as he shows, the arguments put forward in support of his claim were exceedingly weak.

Mac Carthy Reagh had deserved well of the Government,⁷⁴ and for a time there seemed some prospect of his claim being allowed.⁷⁵ But the "Adventurers," to whom Kinelmeaky had been allotted in the distribution of the forfeited lands would not so easily abandon their hopes of seizing the territory, and the whole matter was entrusted for enquiry to Justice Jessua Smythes, who invoked the aid of the Bishop of Cork and Ross.

The finding of the enquiry⁷⁶ was that Kinelmeaky was not and never had been part of Carbery, that Mac Carthy Reagh had nothing there but an extorted chieftry, that it was quite untrue that O'Mahony was a tenant at will to Mac Carthy, that O'Mahony was as ancient in Kinelmeaky as Mac Carthy Reagh in Carbery, and that he was never "known nor heard of to be either appointed or displaced by any Carthy."

Canon O'Mahony holds that this verdict was in accordance with the facts; and certainly Sir Owen Mac Carthy, in his next petition, does not claim any annual tribute, nor that he inaugurated the chief. On the other hand, in the *Note of all the Plowlands in the Country of Carbrie*, already referred to, Kinelmeaky is included.

The final result was that Mac Carthy's claim was rejected; every acre of Kinelmeaky was confiscated; and the territory—over 36,000 statute acres—was divided between two English "adventurers," Beecher and Greenville.⁷⁷

However, the new owners do not seem to have made much progress, at first, in reducing the O'Mahonys. There was still an O'Mahony, Lord of Kinelmeaky in 1601; and his country was so strong that the English forces could not pass

⁷⁴ In *Life and Letters* is quoted "A briefe selection" of payments made by Sir Owen Mac Carthy Reagh and his country of Carbery for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service since the first of the rebellion of James FitzMaurice, sent in in 1583. They amount to £7,497, an enormous sum for those days.

⁷⁵ There is a notice in the *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1587, p. 463, of a petition from Sir Owen Mac C. R. praying for the benefit of the Order in Council restoring him to the possession of Kinelmeaky, etc.

⁷⁶ *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1588, pp. 510, 511.

⁷⁷ Of course, in reality, the chief could only have forfeited his own share in the country, the rest of the land being the property of the free clansmen. Mac Carthy Reagh would no doubt have acknowledged this if he had succeeded in his claim; of course the two English grantees did not.

through it from Cork into Carbery, but had to make a detour through Kinelea and by Kinsale.⁷⁸

In this territory the chief castle and residence of O'Mahony, Castle Mahon by name, stood near Bandon. The spot is now called Castle Bernard.

With the exception, then, of the loss of any rights he may have had over Kinelmeaky and Kinelea, the changes of the Tudor period had done little to injure the position of the Lord of Carbery. At the opening of the Stuart period he was no longer a semi-independent prince; but he was a great landowner, connected by blood with the chief noble families of Munster, and sooner or later likely to be raised to the peerage, in accordance with the general policy of Elizabeth and James to Irish chiefs of his rank. The rising of 1641 and the confiscations that followed deprived the family of this position, but, more fortunate than most, they did not sink to the level of peasants. The then head of the family, Colonel Mac Carthy Reagh, was one of the "nominees," who, by the Act of Explanation, were to be restored to their chief house and 2,000 acres adjoining. The Cromwellian grantees, however, had got too firm a hold; and in 1666 not one, out of the half million acres of Carbery, remained to the family of the ancient chiefs.⁷⁹ Yet, one branch of the Mac Carthy Reaghs, with a wonderful tenacity, preserved their social position and considerable wealth, though in a new home.⁸⁰ They settled near Bansha in Tipperary, where for a considerable period they lived, keeping up the old traditions of unlimited hospitality. Finally, Denis Mac Carthy Reagh, of Spring House, Co. Tipperary, the head of the family, emigrated to France, where, in the latter years of the eighteenth century, he was enrolled among the nobles, with the title of Count.

Full particulars of this branch of the family are given by Judge Trant Mac Carthy. With the death, in 1906, of Count Nicholas Francis Joseph Mac Carthy Reagh, this family appears to have become extinct in the male line. It was for a member of this family that the French genealogist, Monsieur Lainé, compiled a pedigree, a somewhat disappointing work, on which little reliance can be placed, though it has been quoted as authoritative by some writers on the Mac Carthy family.

⁷⁸ Canon O'Mahony's work gives an account of the last O'Mahony Lords of Kinelmeaky.

⁷⁹ Carbery has 483,000 acres, Kinelea 50,000, Kinelmeaky 36,000, Ibane and Barryroe, 35,000.

⁸⁰ Descended from the fifth son of Donnell na Pipi, Lord of Carbery, who died in 1612.

From details given by Judge Trant Mac Carthy, it would appear that the sept of Clan Dermod still survives in France. The following notice from the *Cork Herald* of some years back, refers probably to a member of this family:

"A true lover of Ireland, a typical Franco-Irishman, has just passed away in Arcachon, near Bordeaux. Count Daniel Mac Carthy was very proud of his Irish name, his Irish descent, and even his Irish features, for after two centuries of settlement in France the descendants of this old family bear the undeniable traces of their origin. One of the desires of his life, unfortunately unrealised, was to visit Cork and Tipperary, the homes of his ancestors. His son, Patrick, a brilliant young military officer, inherits his father's love of the old country, and his wish to see it—an ambition which he hopes to gratify. He will certainly find there the cordial welcome which his father in Arcachon always offered to all Irish comers."

Before concluding these articles on the Mac Carthys and their lands, I cannot help pointing out some of the problems arising out of them, and how little we really know about some of the salient points of Irish history.

In the first place, by what process did the Mac Carthys develop from being merely the ruling family of South Munster, with but a small territory as their private estate, into a great clan, occupying as landowners an immense area in 1600? And how is it that the various septs, some thirty in number, into which the clan had split, were all, or nearly all, sprung from King Dermod, who ruled Cork at the coming of the Normans? What had become of the original inhabitants of Carbery, Muskerry, and Duhallow—districts in which, as far as we know, the Mac Carthys had no possessions prior to the Norman invasion? And, above all, what had become of the descendants of the actual fighting men who conquered Desmond for the Mac Carthys and O'Sullivans? The "anonymous author," so often quoted before, gives a list of septs of O'Sullivans who, between them, held nearly the whole territory ruled by O'Sullivan Mór.⁸¹ His evidence is confirmed by the Cromwellian Surveys. Yet, all of these septs are said to have been sprung from the line of the chiefs subsequent to the settlement of the O'Sullivans in Kerry. If a large body of followers of Eoghanacht race had migrated from Tipperary under Mac Carthy and O'Sullivan leadership, we could

⁸¹ It is plain that some authentic records of the division of their conquests between the Mac Carthys and the O'Sullivans remained to his time. He refers several times to "the books of O'Sullivan Mór" as still existing.

explain the conquest of the owners of the soil of Desmond and the adjacent territories. But, then, how was it that these clansmen did not receive a share of the lands they had conquered? Yet it seems clear that they did not receive any share.

What, then, had become of the posterity of the lesser clansmen who had emigrated from Tipperary, and whose swords had won new lands for their chiefs?

The "anonymous author" seems to have had some inkling of this problem. He says that the ancestors of the two branches of O'Sullivan Mór and O'Sullivan Bere made a partition of their conquests, and bestowed eight ploughlands called Clanlocluín, in Glanerought, on a young man, a near relation of theirs, who came along with them, called Docalain Mc Cearaviulaluín.

And he further says: "All the four branches of the collateral cousins of the aforesaid O'Sullivan More and O'Sullivan Beara that came along with them to the county of Desmond, had no estate there conferred on them, but large and beneficial farms, with some tokens of rent. They are the family that the most part of them called themselves Sughrues."

The very same problems meet us in the case of the O'Briens and O'Neills—Royal families at the coming of the Normans; great land-owning clans in the sixteenth century. And in the case of the O'Briens, the pedigree of nearly all the land-owning branches in the sixteenth century can be traced, and leads us back to Brian Boru. How had his descendants substituted themselves for the descendants of those who formed the armies he so often led to victory?

To take a concrete case. We find, both in Desmond and in Carbery at the close of the sixteenth century a very large proportion of the soil in the hands of various septs of the Mac Carthys sprung from the younger sons of a ruling Mac Carthy Mór or Mac Carthy Reagh.⁸² Thus the Sliocht Owen Mór of Cosh Maing are traced to Eoghan or Owen, son of Cormac Mór Mac Carthy Mór (who flourished in the early fourteenth century) and the Sliocht Cormac of Dunguile to Cormac, second son of Teige Mac Carthy Mór, the founder of Muckross. Evidently in the one case Eoghan, in the other Cormac, had received a large tract of land either on his father's death, or perhaps even in his father's lifetime. In Welsh history we find numerous instances of such provision for younger sons.

⁸² Among the *Carew MSS.* at Lambeth is an account of Carbery setting out very clearly the relationship of the various septs of the Mac Carthys in that territory to the line of the chiefs.

But was this grant a grant of the lordship or of the land-lordship? Did it convey only the demesne lands, together with the rents and services due from the free clansmen of a certain district to the overlord, with certain reservations of "cuttings and spendings" to that overlord, or did it convey to the grantee the ownership of the whole district granted? In other words, what was the status of the existing inhabitants of that district? Did they include free land-owning tribesmen, possibly of different blood from the new petty chief, or did they belong to one or other of the non-land-owning classes, occupying the ground merely as tenants?

The Desmond evidence on this point is scanty and not very satisfactory. For it, we must go chiefly to the *Books of Survey and Distribution*, which tell us the state of affairs in 1641; and, unfortunately, we do not know by what process the state of affairs therein revealed had been arrived at. From these books we find that the lands of the various Mac Carthy septs in Desmond were for the most part held in 1641 by only a few individuals, and from Inquisitions and other legal documents we are able to ascertain that the proprietors of the lands of any given sept were, as a rule, nearly related to the actual head of the sept. So far then, we might argue in favour of the second hypothesis, and hold that all landowners in these districts in 1641 held land as descendants of the founder of the sept.

Yet, even in Desmond, there are indications that there were other landholders, not Mac Carthys, holding lands in the district belonging to a Mac Carthy sept.⁸³ And if we turn to the Connaught evidence we are led to accept the former hypothesis, namely, that the grant of so many ploughlands to the original Eoghan or Cormac had been one only of the lordship over lands a large portion of which were the property of free clansmen.

We find, for example, in that portion of the *Composition of Connaught*, which deals with the lands of the O'Flahertys, that it is stated in the preamble to the actual composition that in the Barony of Moycullen there were two sub-divisions, Gnomore and Gnobeg, that the former contained 79 quarters (each of 120 acres), "the moytie whereof is said to belonge to Moroghe O'Flahertie is cept, and the other moytye to Rorie Oge O'Flaherti's cept"; and that the latter contained 59 quarters and "is said to be belonging to Gille-duffe O'Flahertie." Likewise, in the Barony of Ballinahinch there were 84 quarters, "which are the whole within that barony, which is said to belong to Teig ne bully

⁸³ *Books of Survey and Distribution* for parish of Killamane, Barony of Iveragh.

THE LORDSHIP OF MAC CARTHY REAGH 191

O'Flaherty, and Daniell Coggie's sons, called Owen and Moroghe O'Flaherty."

From this fairly positive statement we might be led to conclude that the whole of these baronies was the property of or was claimed by the persons or septs named. But the Composition itself makes it perfectly clear that this was not so. For it mentions by name the chiefs of three other septs of the O'Flahertys, as well as O'Halloran and Mac Enry, chiefs of two subject clans, who were actually parties to the Composition, and also mentions "the rest of the Chief-taynes, ffreeholders Gent. ffarmers and inhabitants having land or holdings within the countrey."

And as regards part of the territory, namely, the district of Gnobeg, we have a series of depositions, taken at Galway barely a fortnight before the date of the Composition, which clearly show that there Gilleduffe O'Flaherty was not sole owner.

To begin with, Gilleduffe himself had been dead at least a century, for the representative of his claims was his great-great-grandson Rory (grandfather of Roderic O'Flaherty, author of *Ogygia*, etc.). And though Teige ne Buile, Tanist of O'Flaherty, declared "that he never knew any of that nacon to claime anything of the said premises but he" (i.e., Murtough, father of Rory), and all the other witnesses corroborated him, yet one of the witnesses describes himself as a freeholder of the country, and another, one of the O'Hallorans, speaks of his lands and castles in Gnobeg, and declares he used to pay to O'Flaherty of Gnobeg duty out of his own lands.⁸⁴

Hence, it is perfectly clear that when an individual or a sept of the ruling house was described as "seized of" a whole territory no more was meant than that he or they held the lordship over it.

The terms of the Composition show this plainly. For from them we find that the lands actually held by Teig ne Buile in Ballinahinch Barony amounted only to 15 quarters, and those held by the sons of Daniell Coggie to 16, although the Composition had begun by saying that between them they were said to be owners of the whole barony.⁸⁵ And if further proof was wanting, we learn both from the

⁸⁴ Sir Murrough na Doe, the "Queen's O'Flaherty," one of the persons mixed up in the case referred to, said, in answer to charges brought against him by Rory, that Gnobeg is a great piece of country, "wherein many freeholders and gent., as well of other nacons, and surnames as of the Fflaherties, hath severall inheritances and freeholds."

⁸⁵ Which contained 84 quarters.

Patent Rolls of James I, and from the *Books of Survey and Distribution*, that there were many other landowners, O'Tooles, O'Duans, Mac Conroys, O'Hallorans, etc., as well as numerous O'Flahertys in the baronies of Moycullen and Ballynahinch.

The pedigree of the O'Flahertys, printed in the appendix to *Iar-Connaught*, shows the relationship of the various branches mentioned as holding these two baronies in the Preamble to the Composition. Teige na Buile, senior of the whole clan, was sixth in descent from the eldest son of a chief named Donnell na Comthach, and Sir Murrough na Doe was sixth in descent from the second son of the same Donnell. The descendants of the eldest son had received the western, those of the second son the eastern portion, of the lands of the O'Flahertys; but, as it appears from the lists of chiefs, either branch might furnish the head chief of the whole clan. The second son divided his share into two parts, Gnomore going to the elder, Gnobeg to the second son, the Gilleduffe mentioned in the Composition. Gnomore was further sub-divided between the grandfather and grand-uncle of Sir Murrough na Doe.

But it is perfectly clear from the facts I have quoted above that at each sub-division what was divided was the demesne lands and the rights over the freeholders; when Teige na Buile declared "that Gnobegg was the auncient enheretance of Gilleduff O'Flahertie; that he had it to him and his children; and that he died siezed thereof and his heirs had it after him" he referred to, and was understood to refer to, the lordship and not the landlordship.

We may conclude then that this is what happened in normal cases in the Mac Carthy lands. When we read that such and such a son received so many ploughlands as his portion, we should understand that he was made sub-chief over a definite district.

But we must remember that the opportunities enjoyed by an active and unscrupulous chief for extending his demesne lands at the expense of the free clansmen were great. Apart from forcible seizure, he would inherit on the extinction of a subject clan; and in those days of disorder the sudden cutting off of all the males of a small sept cannot have been very uncommon. Then the chief had wealth in cattle surpassing that of the ordinary clansman; he would force him to "take stock" from him, thus turning him into a dependent, in some sort a vassal; or he would use his wealth to buy out the improvident.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Dr. Bonn may be referred to for the growth of the power of the chiefs (Vol. I, pp. 64, 65), for the acquisitions by them of land

In these ways, then, we may suppose that the chiefs of the sub-septs, mostly sons of the ruling house, might gradually acquire the ownership of the greater part of the district over which they had acquired chiefly rights. These lands they would divide amongst their sons, and so would come into existence a numerous body of landowners, all sprung from the reigning house—Mac Carthy or O'Brien as the case might be.

Something closely resembling this process is mentioned by Mr. Seebohm in his *Tribal System in Wales*. "Hence," he says, "it follows that the royal stock was from time to time, as it were, swarming off into new stocks, or, to change the metaphor, overflowing into and swelling the number of Cymric proprietors of land. New kindreds, offshoots from the royal kindred, were from time to time taking their places side by side with the other kindreds of Cymru."⁸⁷

In Ireland the rapidity of the process by which the soil passed into the hands of the ruling clan would vary in different districts. For some unexplained reason it may have been more rapid in Desmond than elsewhere. This would explain the comparatively small numbers of the landowners in 1641, as well as the fact that they were nearly all Mac Carthys.

The case was somewhat different in districts such as Muskerry or a large part of Carbery, which had been recovered from the English. The foreigners were expelled, but the descendants of the old native hereditary proprietors were not, as a rule, restored. The conquering chief added all or most of his new acquisitions to his own lands, and left them at his death to his sons, and not to his successor by tanistry. In these districts, then, the landowners in Elizabeth's day would all, or almost all, descend from the chief who had first won them back from the foreigner.

And, last of all, how was a settlement of the land question arrived at in Desmond and in Carbery? By what title did the innumerable small landowners of Carbery, in 1641, hold their lands? There seems to be no trace of grants from the Crown to these small proprietors, such as those to the landowners of Connaught, which fill page after page of the *Patent Rolls* of James I.⁸⁸ And if there were no such

in war (*ibid.*, p. 66), the decline of the poorer freemen (p. 74). On p. 53 he speaks of the way in which the descendants of a chief might grow into a new sept.

⁸⁷ *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 147. See also p. 143 and following pages. But Seebohm says nothing as to any displacement of former kindreds of proprietors by offshoots from the royal stock.

⁸⁸ There are grants to the chiefs of several of the Carbery clans, as I have said before.

grants, how did Carbery and Desmond escape the lynx-eyed James and his greedy courtiers, who so readily found flaws in the titles of the landowners in Leitrim and Longford and all the midland districts held by native clans? How, again, did they escape when Strafford declared invalid the titles of the whole of the landowners in Connaught? Again we have no answer.

These and many more are difficulties, the solution to which some may know, but which is not to be found in any book written in English: I say in English, for in 1906 a work appeared which aims at giving an accurate scientific account of the settlement of the land question arrived at under Elizabeth and James I, Dr. Bonn's *Englische Kolonisation in Irland*.

Many people hold that from that land settlement spring the whole of the agrarian troubles which make up so much of later Irish history. And yet, the history of that settlement has never yet been really seriously studied in Ireland. This is a statement which will appear startling to many. They will say: "Oh! *we* know all about it; such and such things were done with the land." To show how far the popular ideas as to what was done with the land deviate from the truth, such persons need only to be referred to Dr. Bonn's book, already mentioned. The following chapter will deal with this subject.

MAP IV.



Ireland under Henry VIII.
(Irish Territories unshaded).

III.

POLICY OF SURRENDER AND REGRANT.

I.

IN the opening section of this series I have endeavoured to show something of the organisation of one of the great Gaelic lordships. In the section on the Lordship of Mac Carthy Reagh my readers will have seen the form assumed by such a principality when brought under English Law. In this section I shall endeavour to trace the steps by which the transformation from the Irish to the English system came about.

Ever since the reign of Elizabeth the general history of Ireland has been closely bound up with the question of the ownership of the soil. All the political upheavals of the last three centuries have originated either from the land question or from the religious one—often from both inextricably mixed. And both questions, it is admitted, take their rise in the Tudor days.

Yet, curiously enough, the exact facts of what took place under Elizabeth and under the first Stuart king have scarcely ever, if ever, been studied in any serious scientific manner by any writer in English. Practically all, of whatever political leanings, accept without question the statement so often put forward, that the root of all agrarian troubles in Ireland is to be found in the fact that, under the Tudors, the lands, previously the common property of the clansmen, were granted to the chiefs to win them over to the side of the Crown. Thus, say they, the mass of the people were reduced from the condition of landowners to that of tenants, and from this primary injustice flowed and still flows a whole train of evil consequences.

The history of the land settlement aimed at, and partially arrived at, under Elizabeth and James I has indeed been studied fully and dispassionately by the Munich Professor, Dr. Bonn. The two volumes of his *English Colonisation in Ireland* form the only history of the political and economic conditions of the island that I have ever seen, based on a careful study of first-hand authorities, and unbiassed by political or religious feelings. He brings German thoroughness and the German scientific method to bear on a difficult problem, and he views his subject from a detached stand-

point, almost impossible to be reached by the native or the English writer.¹

Among the most instructive portions of his work are the chapters dealing with the subject I propose to treat of. I may remark in passing that the greater part of this article was written before I had seen or heard of Dr. Bonn's work. The careful study of his two volumes shows me that, working independently, we had arrived at practically the same results. I have benefited by his industry and by the clearness of his exposition, but the points are few, indeed, on which our conclusions as to this question differ to any appreciable extent.

To start with, then, my conclusions, and Dr. Bonn's, though he does not state them in so many words, are that it must be laid down that the view usually held, the view, namely, that the land was taken from the people and given as a bribe to the chiefs, is absolutely wrong. This is, of course, speaking generally. The Irish chiefs "grabbed" the clan lands whenever they could, *i.e.*, whenever the Crown permitted. The Crown did permit, or encourage, or propose this in many cases. Dr. Bonn has a whole chapter on this and on the reasons guiding the Crown.² This bestowal of the land on the chiefs to the exclusion of the clansmen happened notably in Ulster; and since that province plays the chief part in Irish affairs in the days of Elizabeth, and since the "Plantation of Ulster" was there the outcome of the grants of the clan lands to the chiefs, attention has been fixed on what took place there, to the exclusion of all consideration of what was the course followed in the rest of Ireland.

To show what really happened it will be necessary to consider the events, previous to the reign of Henry VIII, which rendered some settlement of the tenure of land in Ireland imperative, the efforts that sovereign made to effect a settlement, the methods pursued by Elizabeth, and finally, the continuation of her work under James I with the modifications introduced into it by the greed of that monarch and his favourites.

When Henry VIII, after the suppression of the rebellion of Silken Thomas, turned his attention to the task of sub-

¹ In some matters of detail Dr. Bonn's views seem to me to contradict our evidence. In Munster, at any rate, as I have shown, the limits of each clan and sept were accurately defined and recognised by their neighbours. And even in Ulster it can be shown that there was far more cultivation of the land than Dr. Bonn admits. Sometimes, too, he places too much reliance on statements by Sir John Davies or by Petty.

² Vol. I, Bk. II, Chap 3.

duing the sixty or more Gaelic clans and the thirty great lords of the noble English folk who, between them, shared nearly the whole island, he found a state of things in existence without parallel in Europe. Almost throughout the whole island there was a complete divorce between the actual occupancy of the land, and the legal ownership of it. To explain how this state of things originated, it will be needful to give a short sketch of the dealings of the early Anglo-Norman colonists with the land.

By the Treaty of Windsor in 1175, Roderic O'Conor ceded to Henry II the two provinces of Meath and Leinster, and in return was recognised as sovereign over the remainder of the island, paying a yearly tribute to Henry. But this treaty was looked on as non-existent almost as soon as it was made; and we find Henry acting on the theory that the whole country belonged to him, and might be granted away to his barons, without any regard to the rights of the natives. The Irish were held to be outside the pale of the law,³ and in short, the maxim was introduced that no native was capable of holding land except as a tenant at will.⁴

Recent writers, such as Mr. Orpen, and Miss Armstrong in her *Edward Bruce's Invasion of Ireland*, have disputed Sir John Davies' statements. It seems true that, after a time, those Irishmen who lived in the King's peace enjoyed the protection of the law as regards injuries to life at least, as far as that protection extended to Englishmen of the same status. In other words, they were allowed the same status as the English villein.

But, as regards the ownership of land, in spite of some few exceptions mentioned by these writers, the general principle may be laid down that no Irishman was recognised as a landowner. Sir John Davies points out that in his day there was not a single freeholder of Irish descent in the four counties of the Pale.

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* show that in Co. Kilkenny, in south Tipperary, in Waterford, in east Cork, in Mayo, there were no landowners of Irish descent, except where native clans, such as the O'Brennans in Kilkenny or the O'Malleys in Mayo, had maintained themselves by the sword, and one or two entirely exceptional cases. Mr.

³ "So as it was no capital offence to kill them" (Sir John Davies' *Discovery why Ireland was never entirely subdued*).

⁴ Or rather, as Dr. Bonn puts it, the legal position of all Irishmen (except the "five bloods" who had the benefit of English law) was that of the English villein, only the Irish villein had still fewer rights than his English prototype "*Der Ire war Sache nicht mehr*" (Vol I, p. 129).

Orpen gives details of what he calls the "expropriation" of the O'Felans in Waterford. The treatment of King Dermot Mac Carthy, who had been the first of all the provincial Kings to submit to Henry II, and who had been received as the King's liege, only to see his Kingdom granted away at once to De Cogan and Fitz Stephen, disproves Miss Armstrong's theory that such treatment only followed on a revolt of a Gaelic sovereign from his new allegiance.

But in the very lifetime of the first invaders, it was recognised that the attempt at a complete conquest of Ireland had failed.⁵ Sir John Davies, writing in the seventeenth century, attributes this failure, and with truth, to the excessive grants made to the first colonists. According to him, all Ireland was parcelled out between ten great grantees, so that there was nothing at all left to be given to the natives or to subsequent settlers; and the territories granted to one man were so extensive that it was scarcely possible for him to subdue them thoroughly, or hold them if subdued. The settlers contented themselves with occupying the level and more fertile districts, leaving the woods and mountains to the natives, who maintained a precarious independence there, until some turn of fortune might enable them to regain their hold of their former possessions.

There are exaggerations in Sir John Davies' statements. It is quite certain that there were more than ten tenants in chief in Ireland; but, in the main, what he says is accurate. A short review of what happened in each province will show how each stood at the opening of the reign of Henry VIII.

Leaving the first grant, Leinster, for the end, we will begin with Meath. This province, comprising the present counties of Meath, Westmeath, Longford and part of King's County, was given as a county Palatine to Hugh de Lacy, and parcelled out by him among a large number of Norman and English soldiers of fortune, Plunketts, Dillons, and others. They subdued the greater part of the country very completely, expelling the natives or reducing them to serfdom, and covering the district with castles and small towns which were able to defy all the attacks of the Irish.⁶

De Lacy's lordship passed, by the marriage of his great-grand-daughters, into the families of De Verdon and de Genneville.⁷ The eastern portion, the Lordship of Trim,

⁵ Giraldus Cambrensis. *Expug. Hib.*, Lib. II, Cap. xxxiv.

⁶ See the *Song of Dermot and the Earl* and Mr. Orpen's *Ireland under the Normans* for details of the distribution of land in Meath.

⁷ Article on the De Verdons of Louth (*J. Roy. Soc. Ant., Ire.*, Vol. V, 5th series).

ultimately came to the Mortimers, Earls of March, and so to the Crown, in the person of Edward IV. De Lacy's vassals, Plunketts, Petits and others, thus became tenants in chief of the Crown. This territory formed the chief portion of the Pale, the district within which the authority of England was acknowledged during the fifteenth century, and here almost alone in Ireland the actual occupiers of the land were its legal owners. The De Verdon portion, however, passed through females into various English families, who never came over to Ireland. Thereupon the natives, O'Melaghlin, O'Ferralls and others, recovered a great portion of the district, the rest being in the hands of Dillons, Nugents, and other descendants of the original grantees of De Lacy, who paid little or no regard to the rights of their nominal overlords. Thus, though the original title of these Norman families was sound, it might be easy to prove against them that in many cases they had neglected to render the services due from them to their overlords.

At the time of the English invasion the old Kingdom of Ulster had long ceased to exist. The Counties of Louth, Armagh, Monaghan and Fermanagh formed the Kingdom of the Oirghialla, whose ruling family had taken the surname of O'Carroll. The northern Hy Niall, descendants of Conall Gulban and Eoghan, sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages, held the present Counties of Donegal, Tyrone and Derry, along with a small district in Connaught, round Sligo. The chieftainship in the twelfth century was chiefly held by the families of Mac Loughlin and O'Muldory, who soon, however, seem to have died out, and in their place appear the O'Neills as head of the posterity of Owen, and the O'Donnells, chiefs of the race of Conall Gulban. The descendants of the old monarchs of all Ulster were confined to the district east of the Bann, the modern Down and Antrim. Their chiefs were of the family of Mac Dunslevy, or, as it seems sometimes to have been called, O'Eochy.

The whole province was granted to John De Courcy, who, however, found the conquest of his new territories no easy task. Aided by the ships of his father-in-law, the King of Man, he was able to colonise the eastern coast line from Dundalk northwards. The O'Carrolls and Mac Dunslevys disappear from view during this struggle—almost the only case of the destruction of an Irish clan in its contest with a Norman baron. But De Courcy made no real progress towards a conquest of the interior of the country. The Hy Niall were from time to time forced to give hostages and promise a tribute of cattle, but west of the Bann and north of Armagh the colonists made no permanent settlement.

De Courcy got into trouble with King John, was expelled from Ireland, and his lordship was given to a son of De Lacy of Meath. The De Lacys in turn forfeited. Finally, Ulster was granted, in 1264, with the title of Earl, to Richard de Burgo, in exchange for some lands in Tipperary.

William de Burgo, a near relative of the famous Hubert de Burgh, had received a grant of the whole or part of Connaught⁸ from John, in the lifetime of Richard I.

No progress was made with the conquest, and the O'Conors were more than once recognised by the King of England as lords under him of the province. After much warfare and confusion Henry III made a new grant in 1228, giving 25 cantreds to William's son, Richard, and reserving five cantreds, which comprised most of Roscommon and some of Sligo. During the thirteenth century the invaders, taking advantage of the savage internecine warfare between the different branches of the O'Conors, spread over a large portion of the province. The five cantreds reserved by the King were at first left to the O'Conors, then grants were made to various settlers; and these were alternately revoked and renewed in a most puzzling way, the net result being that the O'Conors and the clans under them remained in possession of the greater part of the five cantreds, but without any clear legal title.

In De Burgo's portion of the province the settlers spread over the greater part of Galway, Mayo and Sligo, but, as usual, left the mountainous districts unsettled. Leitrim and Cavan had formed a sub-kingdom of Connaught, called Breffny. At the time of the invasion O'Rourke of Breffny had also acquired the Kingdom of Meath. Breffny was, therefore, included in De Lacy's grant. We find one of the De Verdons calling himself Lord of Breffny,⁹ but no permanent settlement was effected.

As the conquest of Connaught was made at a later date than that of the other provinces, the majority of the invaders had already acquired lands in other parts of the

⁸ See, for details as to the settlement of Connaught, Knox's *History of the County Mayo* (Dublin, 1908); also Orpen.

⁹ Article on De Verdons, before cited. In the seventeenth century a certain Richard Plunkett claimed Cavan (*Cal. St. Paps.*, 1608-10, p. 221).

Western Breffny, the modern Leitrim, was given to one of the Nangles, whose attempt to conquer it failed (Knox, p. 314). Lord Gormanston claimed part of the county as heir to Nangle in 1592 (*Cal. St. Paps.*, p. 590). In *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1621, p. 334, the claims of Lord Gormanston and of Mr. J. Rochford to part of Leitrim are again referred to. The Earls of Kildare claimed the northern part (*Cal. St. Paps.*, 1591, p. 406).

island. Thus, the Fitzgeralds, the Butlers and the Barrys, who received great tracts of country from De Burgo, were already established in other districts, and neglected their new estates. The invaders overran the greater part of the province, but the actual settlers were few in number; and in many cases the grantees left the natives in possession, in return for a rent.

Thus, the settlement already contained germs of weakness. The fusion between the two races began in Connaught earlier than in other parts, and the descendants of the invaders took the first steps on the road that led to their becoming "more Irish than the Irish themselves."

The power of the De Burgos, created Earls of Ulster in 1264, reached its height under the "Red Earl." Even the O'Neills in Ulster were forced to pay him tribute and give him hostages. But in his lifetime came the invasion of Edward Bruce, called in by the Irish of Ulster. Though Bruce failed, the English colony suffered irreparable injury. The settlers were almost entirely cleared out of Ulster; and in Connaught a multitude of small towns and castles were destroyed.¹⁰

Fifteen years later William, third Earl of Ulster, was murdered and his inheritance passed to his infant daughter, who was brought to England and married to Lionel Duke of Clarence. From him the lordship of Ulster and Connaught passed to the Mortimers, and so ultimately to the House of York, and, on the accession of Edward IV, to the Crown.

But in the meantime all Ulster and Connaught were lost to the English. The O'Neills crossing the Bann, seized on the greater part of Down and Antrim. The remnants of the clans of Orghialla and Ulidia, Mac Gennis of Iveagh, Maguire in Fermanagh, Mac Mahon in Monaghan, O'Hanlon in Armagh, acknowledged O'Neill as their overlord. A few settlers, Savages, Whites and Bissetts maintained a precarious hold on the coast line. Carlingford and Dundalk became the frontier towns of the English settlements.

So, by the opening of the sixteenth century, we find three great Irish lordships covering nearly all Ulster. O'Donnell held Donegal, O'Neill ruled Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Armagh, Monaghan and Cavan,¹¹ O'Neill of Clondeboy, an offshoot from the main stock, ruled the greater part of Down

¹⁰ List of these in *Annals of Loch Cé*, 1315. Also a list of towns said in the sixteenth century to have once existed in Mayo is quoted by Knox, p. 108.

¹¹ The O'Donnells laid claim to, and sometimes exercised supremacy over, Fermanagh and parts of Leitrim, Sligo, etc. See *Irish Annals*, also *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1607, p. 365.

and Antrim. But they ruled by the sword, in defiance of English law. A statute, passed in the reign of Henry VI, provided that no length of possession could give an Irishman a legal title to land; and, in the eyes of the lawyers, all Ulster was the property of the Crown.¹²

In Connaught matters went differently. Two collaterals of the house of De Burgo, or Burke, as the Irish called the name, seized on as much of the province as had been permanently colonised.¹³ In time they adopted Irish dress, speech, and customs. One, master of the lands in what is now Galway, took the name of Mac William Uachtar, the other, Lord of Mayo, became Mac William Iachtar.¹⁴ From Norman lords they became Celtic chiefs, ruling in accordance with the Brehon laws, as heads of a clan formed of their kinsmen and followers. The lesser Norman families followed their example. The Nangles became Mac Costelloes, the Barretts Mac Wattins, the D'Exeters Mac Jordans.

In the general confusion the Irish recovered a great part of the province. A section of the O'Conors became masters of what is now the County of Sligo; the main branch of the clan ruled the greater part of Roscommon, the O'Kellys, the O'Maddens on the east, the O'Flahertys and O'Malleys on the west recovered their freedom.¹⁵

Thus, by the sixteenth century, one half of Connaught was in the hands of Irish clans, whose title was not recognised by English law. The "degenerate" Anglo-Norman families who held the other half were legally in no better position. The ownership of Connaught was vested in the Crown, and only those landowners who could show a grant previous to the murder of Earl William, and whose lands had not come to them by Tanistry and Gavelkind, were held to have any legal title to their lands. Except in the town of Galway and its immediate neighbourhood, there can scarcely have been a landowner in the province who could comply with these conditions.

When Henry VIII came to the throne four great families of Anglo-Norman descent held between them somewhat more

¹² Cited in *Jour. of Kil. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. I.

¹³ Knox gives the best account of these Connaught transactions.

¹⁴ The Upper and the Lower Mac William: *uachtar* and *iachtar*. "Lower" is constantly found in Ireland in the sense of "northern."

¹⁵ Some of them paid tribute to the Mac Williams. The Earl of Clanricarde claimed chief rent from the O'Flahertys in the sixteenth century, and O'Malley owed military service to the Lower Mac William (Knox, p. 355). The Earl claimed the castle of Moycullen in O'Flaherty's country (*Car. Cal.*, 1544, p. 211), and received chief rent from it temp. James I (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, James I, p. 348).

than half the province of Munster. The Le Poers or Powers owned the eastern part of Waterford. Though they had become quite Irish in speech and manners, their title to their lands had come down to them regularly from the first grantee, Robert le Poer.

Theobald FitzWalter, ancestor of the Butler family, had been granted, in or about 1185, a large district in north Tipperary. His descendants had acquired the greater part of the rest of the county from other grantees. James Butler, created Earl of Ormond in 1328,¹⁶ had been given Palatine jurisdiction over the whole county. But in the confusion following on the invasion of Edward Bruce, the natives had expelled the settlers from all north Tipperary. Various branches of the O'Brien family, and the clans of O'Dwyer, O'Kennedy, O'Carroll, and others became masters of all the lands originally granted to Theobald FitzWalter, and had even captured the strong castles of Nenagh and Roscrea. But the Butlers had not abandoned their claims on this district; and in the eyes of the law the Irish were only intruders.¹⁷

Earl Thomas of Ormond died in 1515, and his estates went to his two daughters. One, married to Sir William Boleyn, grandfather of Anne Boleyn, succeeded to the Irish estates. Her husband resided in England; and the Irish lands were actually ruled by Piers, descended from a younger son of the third Earl, the next heir to the title. The Butler lands might easily have gone the way of the De Burgo estates in Connaught.

The district of Clanwilliam, partly in Tipperary, partly in Limerick, was held by a branch of the De Burgos; their title was apparently a good one; still they had become quite Irish in their ways; and Irish ideas of marriage and the descent of lands were not always such as were recognised by the Canon Law, or by the Common Law of England.

By far the most powerful lords in Munster were the Fitzgeralds. The Earls of Kildare held Croom, and a considerable district in Limerick, with a sound title. The Earls of Desmond claimed to be owners of all Kerry and most of Cork, the greater part of Limerick, and portions of Tipperary and Waterford.

The two counties first-mentioned had, under the name of the Kingdom of Cork, as has been already stated, been given by Henry II in 1177 to Milo de Cogan and Robert

¹⁶ His father, Edmund, had been created Earl of Carrick in 1315.

¹⁷ Some clans, such as the Mac I Briens of Ara, were certainly intruders from west of the Shannon. So, too, according to some authorities, were the O'Kennedys.

Fitz Stephen. The Fitzgeralds claimed to have inherited some or all of their rights.¹⁸ But there were doubts as to the validity of these claims; and we find, in Elizabeth's reign, Sir Peter Carew coming forward and being recognised by Elizabeth as the lawful heir of Fitz Stephen. Moreover, as we have seen, more than half Cork and Kerry was actually in possession of the Mac Carthys, Kings of Desmond, and their subject clans. The Earls of Desmond had indeed forced the Mac Carthys to consent to pay the tributes which I have already mentioned; but we may doubt if they ever saw much of the money. The Fitzgeralds had made repeated attempts to conquer the mountain regions where the Mac Carthys ruled, and as late as 1521 the Earl of Desmond had invaded Muskerry with the avowed object of expelling the Irish. But a great defeat, and the loss of over 1,000 men, compelled him to desist from his project.

The Desmond title to the lands in the three other counties seems, at first sight, valid. But it appears certain that, in one instance at least, the succession to the earldom had not followed the English rules of descent, but had gone by tanistry. The Government, while recognising the Fitzgerald position in general, might fairly cast doubt on the claims of the actual holder of the title.¹⁹

Under the Desmonds were several great vassal families, such as the Barrys²⁰ and Roches in Cork. Their ancestors had received grants from De Cogan and Fitz Stephen; and, except for possible irregularities in the succession, there was nothing to be said against their title.

The O'Briens, Kings of North Munster, had held their own in Clare, having extirpated the De Clares, to whom their lands had been given by Edward I. Their authority was acknowledged by the clans in north Tipperary and the

¹⁸ The whole history of South Munster from the death of Fitz Stephen to the opening of the sixteenth century remains still to be written. In particular we know singularly little as to the growth of the power of the Desmonds in Limerick and Kerry, though for Limerick Father Begley's *History of Limerick* gives much valuable information.

The grant of the "Kingdom of Cork" to De Cogan and Fitz Stephen raises many problems, too intricate to enter into here. Mr. Orpen handles the difficult question of the devolution of this grant with great skill, but admits that there are several obscure points in it.

¹⁹ According to the generally received accounts the 6th Earl of Desmond was deposed for having married beneath him, and an uncle usurped the Earldom and lands.

²⁰ The Barrys and Roches had, in time, become tenants *in capite*; but were still counted among the followers of the Earls of Desmond.

eastern districts of Limerick; but was, of course, quite illegal in the eyes of the Crown.

The history of the first great Irish grant, that of the Lordship of Leinster to Strongbow, is complex. It had passed, through Strongbow's only daughter, to William Marshall and, on the death, without issue, of the last of his five sons in 1247, to his five daughters who divided the lands between them. One brought her husband, de Vesci, the greater part of Kildare and King's County. William de Vesci was attainted in 1297, and his lands given to his vassal John Fitzgerald, Baron of Offaly. John's descendants, the Earls of Kildare, ultimately became the most powerful nobles in the island. Their power rested not on the extent of their territory, but on the richness of the land, the strength of their castles, and their neighbourhood to Dublin, which enabled them to overawe the Government. It was strengthened by a system of alliances with the natives. Nearly every Irish chief in Leinster, and some outside that province, paid tribute to the Earls of Kildare as the price of their protection.²¹ Yet they had never been able to subdue that part of their territory of Offaly which is now included in King's County. Here the O'Conors and O'Dempseys held their own, and were a thorn in the side of the settled districts of the Pale.

Another daughter brought Carlow to her husband, Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. Her lands included parts of the modern Wicklow, with New Ross and other Wexford lands. But the Earls of Norfolk and their successors, being absentees, were quite unable to defend their lands against the Irish. Donnell Mac Murrough Cavanagh was elected King of Leinster about the time of the invasion of Edward Bruce;²² and he and his son Art became masters of nearly one half of the old province. Only the town of Carlow, and a small district round, remained in English hands.²³

Wexford, the portion of another of the sisters, passed ultimately, by marriage, to the Earls of Pembroke. The southern portion of the county, thickly settled by the first invaders, was able to resist the Mac Murroughs even in the absence of its lord. But the Irish had recovered all the northern half of the modern county. All Wicklow, nearly

²¹ See list in the *Rental Book of the Earls of Kildare* of the Earl of Kildare's duties on Irishmen. It has been several times printed. See *Journ. of Kil. Arch. Soc.*, new series, Vols. II and IV.

²² *Journ. of Kil. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. II, new series, p. 75.

²³ 138 castles in Co. Carlow alone are said to have been taken by the Irish before 1435 (*Let. from Irish Parlt.*, quoted *Journ. of Kil. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 405).

all Carlow, half Wexford, were held by the Mac Murroughs and their subject clans, in defiance of all the attempts of the Government.

The district of Leix, comprising about half the present Queen's County, had been brought by another of William's daughters to the Mortimers. But the Mortimers, great lords in England and Wales, were absentees. To guard their Irish lands by English troops was expensive. The English settlers largely disappeared as a result of Bruce's invasion. Irish mercenaries were cheap, so Mortimer confided his castles to the care of the O'Mores, the original owners of the territory. What followed is graphically told by Friar Clyn when recording the death of Lysaght O'More.

"This man," he says, "had forcibly expelled the English from his lands and patrimony, for in one night he burned eight castles of the English men, and destroyed the noble castle of Dunamaise belonging to Lord Roger de Mortimer, and usurped to himself the dominion of his fatherland. From a servant he became a lord, from a subject a prince."²⁴

As the western parts of the modern King's and Queen's Counties had never been subdued, we now find a great block of native territory running along the Shannon from Athlone to Limerick, and extending eastward to the Barrow. Most of it was claimed by Anglo-Norman lords; all of it was independent.

The fifth of the co-heiresses had for her share the ancient Kingdom of Ossory. The greater part of this territory was thoroughly subdued and thickly planted. Protected by numerous walled towns, it became a sort of inland pale, where English laws and manners remained after they had disappeared from all the neighbouring districts. The De Spencers, descendants of Isabel le Marshal, kept effectual control of their lands until 1392, when they sold Kilkenny castle and all their rights to the third Earl of Ormond. As his castles of Nenagh and Roscrea had been taken by the Irish, he made Kilkenny his chief seat. He was already owner of a large tract of the county, held under the De Spencers, now he became overlord of the whole. The nominal ownership of the greater part of the Butler lands passed, as we have said, ultimately to the daughters of the seventh Earl, the actual rule, however, at the opening of Henry VIII's reign was exercised by Piers Butler, claiming to be Earl of Ormond.

To sum up, over the whole island there was confusion. Five-eighths of the country was held by the native clans,

²⁴ Clyn's *Annals*, 1342.

the "Irish enemy," in defiance of English law and English grants.²⁵ Of the lords of Norman descent, some, as the Burkes—the King's rebels—were admittedly usurpers. Others, such as the Desmonds, held their lands more by force than by strict legal title. Almost every Norman lord laid claim to vast tracts which were in native hands, and over which the claimants had exercised no authority for two centuries. But by statute, no length of occupation could give a legal title to an Irishman. And, to make confusion worse confounded, great estates were legally in possession of English noblemen who never visited Ireland, took no measures to defend their vassals against the natives, and, as a consequence, were scarcely recognised as overlords by such of their vassals as had been able to hold their ground in spite of this neglect.

To give some examples of the confusion that prevailed. The Ormonds owned in theory almost the whole district from the Shannon and Lough Derg to the sea at Arklow. But all north Tipperary, with the two great castles of Nenagh and Roscrea, had been in Irish hands for nearly two centuries.²⁶ The castle of Tullow, in County Carlow, if in their hands, was entirely surrounded by the territories of the Mac Murroughs and the O'Nolans. There is still extant a treaty between Earl Piers and Mac Murrough with regard to Arklow. The latter acknowledges that the castle and adjoining district belong to the Earl; but he is to have half the rents, etc., on the fish and timber of the port and town, and all the rents of the adjoining territory, as well as the right of free entry into and occupation of the castle for life, engaging not to quarter Scots or gallowglasses on the town. Mac Murrough's seal bears the inscription *Rex Lageiae*; his predecessor in 1475 styles himself in a grant to the monastery of Duisic, *Rex totius Lageniae*.²⁷

O'Dwyer of Kilnamanagh acknowledged the suzerainty of O'Brien of Thomond. But his lands were legally part of the Ormond territories, and he paid a yearly tribute of a nest of goshawks to the Earl of Kildare for protection.²⁸

²⁵ Both Mac Carthy of Muskerry and Mac Carthy of Carbery claimed under Elizabeth to have obtained a grant of their lands, the one from Edward IV, the other from Henry VII. If these grants actually existed they may be accounted for by the fact that one Earl of Desmond was executed under Edward IV, and that another was an active supporter of Lambert Simnel.

²⁶ See article in *Journ. Kil. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. I, by Prendergast, on the projected plantation of Ormond under Chas. I.

²⁷ *Jour. R. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*, Vol. VI, fourth series, pp. 22 and 23.

²⁸ *Rental Book of the Earls of Kildare*.

The Barretts of Cork acknowledged themselves by indenture vassals of the Desmonds, and paid them a rent of 12 marks. But they paid another rent of £11 to Mac Carthy Mór, and a great part of their territory had been seized by Mac Carthy of Muskerry.

O'Connor Sligo declared to Elizabeth's deputy, Sidney, that he owed a yearly rent of 360 marks to somebody, for the castle and lands of Sligo. O'Donnell claimed it by "continuance of possession for a thousand years." The Earl of Kildare claimed it as legal owner of the whole county, under a grant from the De Burgo Lords of Connaught.²⁹ Mac William of Clanrickard claimed it "alleging a composition by mutual agreement" between the O'Conors and his ancestors. If the unfortunate O'Connor paid one claimant the other two fell on him; and he declared that he ought only to hold his lands of the Queen, if she would protect him from all other claimants.³⁰

The quarrel between Henry VIII and the Pope awakened the King to the necessity of making his position in Ireland secure. The rebellion of Silken Thomas showed how weak the English hold on the island was. It was only the rivalry between the Butlers and Geraldines which had saved the English authorities from being swept into the sea. Henry determined to bring the whole island into his power.

The old plan of conquest by means of grants to great nobles, who were to make themselves masters by their own resources of the lands bestowed on them, had utterly failed. It was recognised that the crown itself should undertake the task.

Two plans suggested themselves. A war of extermination might be begun, with the object of rooting out all or most of the natives. This was the scheme which found most favour in Government circles in Dublin.³¹ But apart from

²⁹ The *State Papers*, 1591-92, give a document setting forth at length the claims of the Kildares to Sligo. They also claimed Fermanagh, Tyrconnell and the north of Leitrim. *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1591, pp. 406 and 460.

³⁰ *Journal R. H. Ass. of Ireland*, Vol I, 4th series, p. 23.

³¹ See *State Paps.*, Hy. VIII, Vol II, p. 323, and Richey, p. 111, Vol. II, for R. Cowley's plans for the destruction or exile of the natives. However, he was willing that some of the Irishry, on submission, might be allowed to live "within the very myddes of the English pale." *State Paps.*, 329.

But Allen would not advise the banishment of all the Irish out of their lands (*ibid.*, p. 374). In 1537 the Council of Ireland advised exiling the Irish of Leinster, but allowed that the common people might be retained, "for their be no better earth tillers, no more obedient than they be, soo as thei be never suffred to use feates of war, as commonlye they use nott." (*St. Paps.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 409, 412, 415.)

all humanitarian considerations, it was doubtful if this scheme was feasible. The very vaguest notions were held as to the extent and population of the island.³² But it was certain that such a policy would force all the natives to combine in self defence, and that it would tax all the resources of England for several years to carry it through.

The other plan, conquest by conciliation, was Henry's own. In all his dealings with the native Irish that monarch acted in a spirit of moderation, which is in striking contrast with the generally accepted view of his character. It is perhaps fanciful to attribute this to his Celtic ancestry. But it is noteworthy that it was Henry who first admitted the mass of the Welsh to the full enjoyment of the laws of England, and that all the Tudors showed themselves singularly inclined to favour those Irishmen with whom they came in personal contact.³³ They were relentless towards the lords of English origin in Ireland who disputed their will; but scarcely any of the native race who gained access to the royal presence departed with his requests ungranted.

Henry's plan for a settlement of Ireland was nothing short of revolutionary. The Irish were to be received into the protection of the law, a favour which under the Plantagenets they had more than once petitioned for and been denied.³⁴ They were to be put on full equality with the Anglo-Norman colonists; and, therefore—this was the most startling point in Henry's policy—they were to be capable of holding land in their own country, as freely as any other subject.

There were two obvious difficulties to be faced. Such a policy would irritate the great Anglo-Irish families who claimed to be the legal owners of much of the lands actually held by the Irish. And it was by no means certain that the great Gaelic chiefs who had held their own so long against the invaders would now renounce their independence for the sake of a legal title to what they had been very well able to maintain by their own strong hand.

³² Ireland was said by Surrey to be five times as large as Wales (*St. Paps.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 73). The document which opens the *State Papers* declares that Ireland might yield a revenue little short of that of England if subdued and pacified. (*St. Paps.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 15.)

³³ The son of Mac Gillpatrick of Upper Ossory was "bedfellow" to Henry's son Edward. Notable examples are the favour shown by Mary Tudor to the daughter of O'Connor Faly, and Elizabeth's treatment of Shane O'Neill, Grace O'Malley, and Florence Mac Carthy after she had come in personal contact with them.

³⁴ Bonn.

The overthrow of the house of Kildare humbled the pride of the great Anglo-Irish barons. A succession of vigorous campaigns during the years from 1536 to 1539 inclined the greater number of the Irish chiefs to submission. All who submitted received the benefit of Henry's policy of conciliation. This policy is pretty plainly laid down in a letter of instructions to Surrey, Deputy in 1520, showing that, even then, Henry had fixed on the course to be followed in dealing with the Irish. He would not "take anything from them that righteously appertaineth to them." He did not intend to expel them from their lands and dominions. He wished to bring them under English laws, but gradually. He was ready to give them a legal title to their lands.³⁵

With regard to this latter point, the first step was to get rid of the claims of absentee proprietors to the ownership of much of Leinster, and of those of the houses of Kildare, Ormond, Desmond and others to great tracts in various parts of the island. The rights of the house of Kildare had come to the Crown by the attainder of that family. Now the famous Act of Absentees, passed in 1537, confiscated the lands claimed by the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Berkeley, the heirs general of the Earls of Ormond, and others. In short, all Leinster and Tipperary were vested in the Crown, which already was the legal owner of Ulster and Connaught.

Thus free to deal with the Leinster Irish, we find Lord Leonard Grey, the Deputy, entering into a series of treaties with almost all the chiefs.³⁶ They recognised the King's authority, promised to serve him in war, and to pay certain tributes. In return, the King promises to protect and defend the chiefs and their followers against both English and Irish. By this promise the rights of the chiefs were at least implicitly recognised.³⁷ But it is evident that Henry's intention was to go still farther, and grant the Irish a legal title to the lands they actually occupied. The chiefs were to surrender their lands to the Crown, and to receive them back again by letters patent to hold in accordance with English law. The greater chiefs were to be given English titles and a seat in parliament.

³⁵ *State Papers*, Hy. VIII, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 51.

³⁶ A very large number of these indentures are given in the *Car. Cal.* under the years 1541 and 1542.

³⁷ In most cases no definite recognition that the native chiefs owned their lands is given. But Mac Namara was confirmed in all his rights as chief as long as he lived and behaved as a subject (*Story of an Irish Sept.*, p. 152). Mac Gillpatrick was promised that he should have all his possessions to be held by the service of two knights' fees. (*State Papers*, Hy. VIII, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 514.)

Such were the broad outlines of Henry's policy, which amounted to a total reversal of the policy of the preceding three and a-half centuries. What the descendants of the first Anglo-Norman invaders had permanently conquered they were to keep, what the natives had managed to retain was henceforth to be theirs by a clear title.

There was, indeed, one apparent exception to this. The services of Sir Piers Butler, now known as Earl of Ossory, had been so great that he was regranted all the lands confiscated from the daughters of the seventh Earl by the Act of Absentees. In the grant were included many districts entirely occupied by the Irish. But the clans occupying them had already been received into submission by the King; and it seems certain that he expected the Earl to leave them in peaceable possession, as holding their lands from him.³⁸

The results of this policy were seen in the submission of practically every native chief in the island. Those lords of Anglo-Norman descent who had for long practically disregarded the royal authority—the Barrys, the Burkes of Clanrickarde, and the rest—also made a formal submission. Two of the greatest of the native chiefs—O'Neill, lord of nearly all Ulster, and O'Brien of Thomond—were made earls. The same dignity was conferred on MacWilliam Burke of Clanrickard. Lesser titles were to be given to minor chieftains. A parliament held in 1541 was attended by the chief or tanist of almost every clan in the island. They were present in the House of Lords, though not actually voting or taking part in the debates. The Deputy's opening speech was translated to them by the Earl of Ormond, and they joined by their acclamations in the Act by which Henry took the title of King of Ireland.

In conformity with the King's plans, patents for their lands were given to the three Earls, and to some few more of the chiefs.³⁹ For some reason or other, however, no grants were made out during the rest of Henry's reign

³⁸ Nenagh and Roscrea again came into possession of the Butlers, but the territory round them was left to the natives. (Prendergast: *On the Projected Plantation of Ormond by Chas. I. Trans. Kil. Arch. Soc., Vol. I.*)

³⁹ Viz., to O'Shaughnessy, Mac Namara, Mac Gillpatrick, who was made baron of Upper Ossory, and to Turlough O'Toole, and his brother Art. The case of the O'Tooles is remarkable. Turlough had petitioned that the territory of Powerscourt, occupied by him, should be divided between him and his "sequele." As a result directions were given to have the premises so divided as shall be thought meet by such as shall be appointed by the King, "and after by division made, everie partie to have letters patent of their portion." (*Inquisitions, Leinster, 17th-19th Chas. I.*)

to the remaining chiefs; and so, the work of settlement had not been properly carried out when Henry died.

Now, it is constantly asserted by modern writers that Henry by his grants to the three earls meant to, and actually did, make them owners in fee of all the clan lands—lands to which they had no shadow of right. And, since the actual wording of the grants was vague, Earl Hugh O'Neill did make claim on these grounds to all Tyrone, Londonderry, and Armagh in Elizabeth's days.

Elizabeth, with whom the Earl was for a moment a favourite, let the claim pass. But the matter cropped up again under James I. O'Cahane of Londonderry claimed that the Earl had no interest in his country beyond a chief rent of 21 cows, and the usual Irish cuttings and spendings. The Earl, on the other hand, declared that O'Cahane had no estate in his lands, but held, he and his ancestors, as tenants on sufferance, as servants and followers to the O'Neills.

Sir John Davies, reporting on the whole matter, cites the cases of the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickarde. Their grants were precisely similar to Con O'Neill's;⁴⁰ but they never claimed to dispossess the subordinate chiefs of their freeholds, and make them tenants at will. Therefore, only his demesne lands, according to Sir John, had been granted to Earl Con. This shows that the usual view with regard to these grants is quite wrong.

Much about the same time as O'Brien made his submission with the demand to have "to him and his heirs males, all such lands, rents, reversions or services as I (*sic.*) had at any time before this day,"⁴¹ we find an indenture made between the Lord Deputy and Sioda Mac Namara, chief of the leading clan in Clare after the O'Briens, which clearly shows that Henry and his advisers never meant their grant to O'Brien to include the whole of Thomond. This indenture "witnesseth that the said Sioda Mac Namara do for himself and all the rest of the said gentlemen and freeholders of the baronies and places aforesaid, for their heirs and assigns, covenant, etc. . . . to surrender and give up . . . to the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, when he thereunto shall be required, all such mānors, castles,

⁴⁰ Con was granted *Omnes terras, tenementa, hereditamenta quae modo habet vel dudum habuit in Tyrone.* (*Cal. St. Paps.*, 1606, p. 210.) It is quite certain that O'Brien of Thomond never claimed more than the demesne lands and the various tributes and duties coming to him from the lesser clans as having been passed to him by his grant, which was similarly worded.

⁴¹ *State Paps.*, Henry VIII, Vol. III, Pt. 3, p. 463.

rents, tenements, lands, reversions and all other hereditaments that they and every of them have either in use or possession, and then the said Sioda and the rest aforesaid shall receive and take the same back by letters patent to have and to hold to them and their heirs for ever,⁴² etc., etc.” It is made by Sioda “for and on behalf of himself and of all the rest of the gentlemen and freeholders of the said sept in the baronies of Dangan, Bunratty and Tulla as authorised by the said gentlemen and freeholders under their deed and seal.”

Not only was there no question here of O'Brien getting all Thomond, but Mac Namara was to get nothing except what was actually in his possession. The rest of the landowners were to get letters patent for their properties.⁴³ There is no robbery of the clan here. But unfortunately, the Crown took no steps to secure the lesser owners in their possessions. It is very easy to understand why. Henry and his legal advisers in England were misled by the only system of land tenure with which they were acquainted—the feudal one. To their minds a grant to O'Brien of the Lordship of Thomond was precisely analogous to a grant of the County Palatine of Chester, or of any other feudal lordship. It would confer definite well ascertained rights, but not interfere in the least with the tenures of the lesser proprietors, who held as vassals of the lord. Henry gave O'Brien a legal title to Thomond; but it was assumed that the rest of the landowners already held their lands from O'Brien by what was, as against him, a legal tenure, which he could not interfere with as long as they rendered the rents and services due from them.

Now, this was actually the condition of a great many districts in Ireland held by the Anglo-Norman Barons. The Lord Barry held his lands under a grant originally derived from Fitz Stephen and De Cogan, and under him were a multitude of landowners, offshoots of the family of Barry, descendants of early colonists, even here and there perhaps some proprietors of Irish origin, all acknowledging the Lord Barry as their feudal lord, and bound to give him

⁴² Printed in *The Story of an Irish Sept*, by a Member of the Sept, p. 150.

⁴³ Similarly we find that Brian O'Connor of Offaly on his submission asked for the title of Baron, and to be made of free state, and to have his portion of the country, and that his brothers and all other possessors of lands may have their portions for themselves and their heirs. (*State Papers*, Hy. VIII, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 560.) And Cusack, in 1541, recommended that he should have his lands by knight's service; all the freeholders taking their lands likewise to be in like case. (*Ibid.*, p. 328.)

fixed rents or services, but owning the fee simple of their lands. Just as the forfeiture of the heirs of Fitz Stephen and De Cogan would not deprive the Lord Barry of his lands, so a forfeiture of the latter would not affect his innocent vassals.⁴⁴

Henry's intention was, then, to give the chief of an Irish country the same position as the Earl of Ormond in Tipperary, the Earl of Desmond in Kerry and Limerick, the Lord Barry in Cork. And as the Lord Barry may have been bound to render military service to some superior, and might have under him lesser lords, who again had vassals under them, so O'Brien was to be overlord of Mac Namara, who had under him the chiefs of various lesser septs, who finally had under them the gentlemen and minor freeholders of the clan.⁴⁵

This plan of Henry's is something very different from the absolute confiscation of the clan lands, and the gift of them to the chiefs which is generally laid to his credit. There was, however, some injustice in it. The succession to the dignities bestowed on the chiefs was to go according to English law, shutting out the claims of the chief's brothers, nephews and younger sons, who had rights under the law of tanistry. Besides the lands actually in the hands of the chief, the demesne lands attached to his office, in which he had only a life interest, were now looked on as his private property, and were to go on his death to his heirs according to English law. Thus the clan was deprived of its right of election, and a great tract of land made into private property which had previously been set apart for the maintenance of the chief and the defence of the country.

Yet the actual injustice was only felt by a few near relatives of the chief.⁴⁶ The mass of the clan cannot be said to have been injured, rather they profited by the stability of

⁴⁴ The Lord Barry really was a tenant *in capite* in Henry VIII's time. But his original title came from Fitz Stephen and De Cogan.

⁴⁵ To a casual observer there can have been but little outward difference between the lands in east Cork held by the descendants of the Anglo-Norman barons, and those in west Cork held by the Irish. Language and manners were the same. But in east Cork the tenures were based on English law. It was only natural to suppose that the land system in west Cork was the same. We have seen how the lands of the Barretts were intermingled with those of the Mac Carthys. The chief of the Barretts was feudal lord of his territory. It was easy to imagine that the Lord of Muskerry held a similar position in his territory.

⁴⁶ It seems clear that the choice of the clan was limited to the immediate kindred of the late chief. Only those whose father or grandfather or great-grandfather had been chief were eligible, Dr. Mac Neill has now made this clear.

the succession; and they were no longer exposed to the risk of being expelled from their lands by the first Englishman who might obtain a grant of them, and be able to enforce it.

It is worthy of note that Henry, in conferring the new earldoms, took the Irish succession by tanistry into account. Morrough O'Brien, the last king and first Earl of Thomond, was not to be succeeded in his new dignity by his son. The latter was to be Baron of Inchiquin, and was provided with a becoming estate; but the earldom and the rule over Thomond were to go to the tanist, Donough, son of Morrough's elder brother and predecessor, Conor. So, too, Con O'Neill seems to have been allowed to name his successor; for the Earldom of Tyrone was to go to Mathew O'Neill, who was certainly illegitimate, even if he was a son of Con's at all.⁴⁷

Unluckily for the success of Henry's plan, he and his English advisers were totally mistaken in their view of the internal arrangements of an Irish clan. As modern English lawyers are said to have gone astray in India by assuming that landed property there was held on tenures similar to those recognised by the Common Law, so Henry assumed that there was no essential difference between the English and Celtic systems.

But, as a matter of fact, as the descriptions of the Mac Carthy territories have shown, the two systems were utterly different, and the failure to perceive this vitiated all Henry's endeavours at a settlement.

So far from the Irish chiefs being feudal lords of their districts, with all other landowners holding from them as their vassals, the land was the collective property of the clans, who held each a definite district by immemorial occupation. Part of the clan lands were set apart to support the Chief, the tanist, the Brehons and other officials, part may have become the private property of the leading members of the clan,⁴⁸ the rest was divided out among groups of kinsmen, *sliocht* as they were called in Irish, septs to give them the name used by English writers.

⁴⁷ Con's son Shane was certainly legitimate.

⁴⁸ The evidence from Desmond, Carbery and Muskerry shows very few, if any, traces of individual ownership. Yet all our modern authorities declare that the chief men of the clan had secured part of the clan lands as their private property. If they had, as their land was divided among all their posterity, individual ownership quickly reverted to the ownership of a sept.

Still less do we find traces of land the common property of a whole clan or tribe, and redivided from time to time among all the members. The septs of the O'Sullivans of Bere each had their fixed portion of the country. Within each such sept, in turn, would be the groups of landowning kinsmen,

The members of these septs were the ultimate owners of the land. The Irish writers call them "the hereditary proprietors," the *State Papers* refer to them repeatedly as "the freeholders." The head of the sept had his demesne lands like the chief, the rest of the males of the sept had a right to a greater or smaller portion of land.

There is no need to enter upon the thorny problem how this division of the sept lands among the members of the sept was effected. Were those entitled to land really shifted about and their possessions modified on the death of any member of the sept? Or was the state of things in Ireland similar to that in Wales described by Mr. Seeböhm? There we find groups of kinsmen holding a definite share of land in common, entitled to divide this land after the death of all the males of one generation, but usually holding together until the fourth generation, when the different groups of second cousins would divide, each forming a new land-holding group.

How can we reconcile the repeated statements of the English writers of Tudor times as to the constant shifting about of individuals, and the uncertain nature of each man's possessions with the evidence as to a certain amount at least of fixity of tenure contained in the accounts of the plantations of Longford and Wexford?

Without going into these points, it is enough to say that there is reason to believe that there was some system by means of which the number of males having a right to share in the redistribution of the land within the sept was limited. Those members of a sept furthest removed from the senior branch would appear, when this limit was reached, to have passed automatically outside the sept, passing on their share of lands to their posterity. Hence the number of the septs would have a tendency to increase, while the lands held by an individual sept would diminish.⁴⁹

At the head of each group of kinsmen was a Cean Fine, or Canfinny, as the English authorities call him, having a share of land set apart for him, and receiving dues from the rest of the kindred. Several of these kindreds might be included in a sept, whose chief also had his demesne lands and dues from the lands held by the sept; the chief of the whole clan had, likewise, demesnes and dues; finally, the head chief, or king, in large districts like Thomond or

⁴⁹ This seems the only way of explaining the constant formation of new septs which we have noticed among the Mac Carthys and O'Sullivans, each with its fixed share of land.

Dr. Mac Neill, corroborated by the Welsh evidence, has, I think, conclusively shown that the landowning unit was the family group, up to and including second cousins.

Desmond, had his rights. But the lands thus burthened by all these payments were in no sense the property of the chiefs. The ownership was vested in the sept, and each member of the sept had a right to a share of land during his life.

Now, when the English lawyers came to bring this system into relation with English law they were at once met by difficulties. The idea of collective ownership, if they grasped it at all, was repugnant to them. But the individual members of the septs, having only a life interest in land, and their portions being as they conceived constantly shifted and redivided, could not—though constantly referred to as freeholders—be regarded as freeholders in the English legal sense.

Looked at from the lawyers' point of view, the chief, already holding a great extent of land as his demesne, receiving dues which looked like rent from the rest, constantly redividing the sept lands, and moving individuals from one portion to another, looked very much like a landlord.⁵⁰ The members of the septs thus shifted about appeared as tenants at will. Thus, if the chief had a loosely-worded grant in general terms from the Crown, giving him all his lands, etc., it would be quite possible to understand it as making him owner in fee of the whole tribal territory.

The great chiefs, men by no means deficient in education and intelligence, very soon awoke to this possibility. The Anglo-Irish lawyers of the Pale were, no doubt, thoroughly acquainted with the system of land tenure among the natives. We know that the chiefs were very soon in close relations with these lawyers.⁵¹ Accordingly, we find, when Elizabeth once more took up her father's plans for a settlement of the land—after a relapse in the intervening reigns to the older policy of extermination—that the chiefs systematically endeavoured to get grants conveying to them the exclusive ownership not only of the lands they held in

⁵⁰ Sir John Davies declares in his letter to the Earl of Salisbury, 1607, "but touching the inferior gentlemen and inhabitants it was not certainly known to the State here whether they were only tenants-at-will to the chief lords, whereof the uncertain cutting which the lords used upon them might be an argument." And in his letter of 1610, defending the Plantation of Ulster, he denies that the clansmen had any certain estates of inheritance. This last is in flagrant contradiction to what he himself had said in Fermanagh in 1607.

⁵¹ A Cork jury presented that "all the lords of this county, to colour and entertain their extortions, have wrought such a policy to entertain all the lawyers of the province, whereby no freeholder, nor poor man, can have a lawyer to speak in his cause, be it never so just." (*Life and Letters*, p. 7.)

virtue of their office, but of all the clan lands as well. And in many cases the authorities were quite willing to meet their wishes.

On the other hand, apart from the letter of the law, there could be no doubt that the real owners of the land, if strict equity was to be followed, were the members of the septs.

This conflict of two distinct views as to the real ownership of the land is the salient feature in the second stage of the Tudor settlement.⁵²

Early in Elizabeth's reign instructions were given to the Deputy to induce the Irish chiefs to make surrenders of the lands in their possession, in order to receive them back to be held in tail male under the Crown. In the twelfth year of her reign the Irish Parliament passed an Act to facilitate the same policy.

From this time the "Policy of Surrender and Regrant," as it was called, becomes a prominent feature in the affairs of the island.

Modern writers, as I have said, have seen in this a concealed system of confiscation. The lands belonging to the clan were to be given to the chiefs to purchase their fidelity to the Crown. A Machiavellian instinct foresaw that the chiefs would sooner or later rebel, and so the whole possessions of the clans could be seized and divided among English planters.⁵³

The real facts are very different. Two possible courses presented themselves to the authorities. When the chief made his surrender he might be looked on as the sole owner of the clan lands, and be made proprietor of the whole territory. The advantages of this plan were not very obvious. It would, of course, induce the chiefs to surrender, and would bind them more or less to fidelity to the Crown. No doubt, too, the possibility of a future forfeiture was not overlooked. But on the other hand it would enormously increase the power of the chiefs, and make their clansmen utterly dependent on them. This was by no means desired by the government, which consistently aimed at breaking up the great Irish lordships, and at reducing the chiefs from petty kings to the position held by the great English nobles. The second course, to recognise the clansmen as owners,

⁵² Dr. Bonn devotes to this conflict a great part of Book II. See especially the chapters, *Die Belehnung der Häuptlinge mit Geschlechtsland*, and *Die Verteilung des Geschlechtseigentums*.

⁵³ As a matter of fact, Cusack, in his letter of 1541, did allude to the fact that sooner or later the Irish grantees would break their covenants, and so forfeit their lands. But he does not seem to limit his remarks to the chiefs.

would seem the natural one to have adopted. It would free the clans from dependence on the chief, bring them directly under the Crown, and secure their loyalty, while striking a blow at the excessive power of the great lords.⁵⁴

There were difficulties, however, in this course also. It would almost certainly meet with opposition from the chiefs, whose revenues and position would be greatly diminished. And it was highly probable that the chiefs, if hostile to the government, would be followed by a large number of the clansmen, accustomed to obey their commands; and certainly they could reckon on their own tenants and dependents, including the mercenary soldiers, who made up a large part of their fighting force. Then the court influence of the chiefs had to be taken into account. If they demanded from the English authorities, as many of them did, that they should get all the clan lands as their own, they were constantly able to back up their demands by the favour of influential courtiers, or by the services which they had actually rendered to the Crown in times of danger. The chiefs could fee lawyers to maintain their claims; the clansmen might have no inkling as to what was going on until the lands had actually been granted away to the chief. Besides, the subject was really difficult to decide fairly; and the authorities really desired to act justly.⁵⁵ But they had often to choose between the letter of the English law and what equity demanded. We must add to these causes of perplexity the objection entertained by statesmen of the time to anything like peasant proprietorship. "The multitude of small freeholders beggars the country," was a statement looked on as axiomatic in Tudor days.⁵⁶

We have ample proof that, in London at least, there was a sincere desire to protect the rights of both chief and clansmen. It is sufficient to name the elaborate scheme for the settlement of Monaghan, MacMahon's country, in 1591. The chief had been executed, unjustly as it would appear. But the clan lands were not confiscated. They were divided among the clansmen. The leading men got large estates with chief rents from the lesser proprietors. These lesser

⁵⁴ Dr. Bonn gives the arguments in favour of this course—the just one—in Book II, Chapter 4.

⁵⁵ Sir J. Davies, as usual, states the difficulty tersely. "It was not certainly known to the State here whether they (the inferior gentlemen and inhabitants) were only tenants-at-will to the chief lords . . . or whether they were freeholders yielding . . . certain rents and services." (*Letter touching Monaghan, etc.*, 1607.)

⁵⁶ The phrase occurs in directions *re* the settlement of Longford (*Cal. St. Paps.*, 1611-14, p. 52), *temp.* James I. The idea it expresses was common in Elizabethan times.

proprieters, nearly 300 in number, were confirmed in the lands which they already held by Irish custom. Letters Patent were made out for them in due course, and all, great and small, were to hold direct from the Queen.⁵⁷

In 1576 we have a similar example. Sir Arthur Magennis of Iveagh applied for leave to surrender and obtain a regrant of his lands, and asked to be made a Baron. The Privy Council's reply to the Lord Deputy, who had supported the requests is instructive. They were willing to give the title; but as to the lands they say, "Forasmuch as we do not understand whether it be meant that he shall have the grant of the captainry by inheritance, and the land only which he holdeth at present as his own freehold, leaving the rest to other freeholders that presently have the same in occupation, whereof we think there are many, or else to grant to him the captainry of the whole, we would willingly understand your meaning. If it be meant to be the whole, it is not thought reasonable, neither in this nor in any other of that nature."⁵⁸

Sir Henry Sidney, in answering this, declared that, though in theory it was well to dissipate the great lordships, yet, in practice, an attempt to do so would be perilous. A final settlement of Iveagh was not effected till the time of James I, and then not until after a long controversy, and much vacillation on the part of the government. Some thirty of the clan received lands, paying chief rents some to Sir Arthur Magennis, some to the Bishop of Dromore, besides thirteen chief gentlemen who were to hold of the king *in capite*. A similar controversy between the chiefs and clansmen of the O'Ferralls in Longford is mentioned time and again in the State Papers from 1571 down to the time of James I.

II.

What, then, was actually done under Elizabeth? As may be expected from what I have said before, no consistent plan was followed. Some chiefs got the whole of the territory over which they had ruled, others got the lands of

⁵⁷ *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1591, p. 428. Eight chief lords and 280 others are said to have then got estates. A new settlement was necessary after Tyrone's war, and is given in *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1606-08, p. 166. Over 300 freeholders were then established. This settlement has constantly been misinterpreted by modern writers.

⁵⁸ *Car. Cal.*, 1576, p. 36.

their own clan, others those of their own sept.¹ And it so happened that the chiefs who thus filched the lands from the people were those who stood most prominent in the public eye, Mac Carthy of Muskerry, O'Neill, O'Donnell. Hence the idea, repeated in book after book on Irish history, that the clansmen were robbed of their lands by Elizabeth, to satisfy the greed of the chiefs.

But in by far the greater number of cases the opposite plan was followed. The chief got the demesne lands attached to his office, the rest of the land was divided amongst those who claimed a share in it under Irish law. The whole Province of Connaught, with the County of Clare, and a great part of the Irish districts in the three other provinces were treated in this way.

Before coming to the details of this settlement, we may perhaps be able to find reasons for this difference in treatment. The actual condition of the Irish clans varied very much, a fact constantly lost sight of by modern writers. Common to the whole island was the original division of the entire population into two classes, the free and the unfree.² The former, originally the clans of real or supposed Milesian blood, alone were landowners; the latter had, as a rule, no property in land, though their degree of servitude varied. Only the free land holders were clansmen, strictly speaking; and they alone bore arms. At one time they would seem to have numbered about half the population, but in course of time, especially after the English invasion, their numbers decreased in proportion to those of the non-landowning classes.³

Many clans were shattered and enslaved during the settlement of the Anglo-Norman adventurers; others were driven to seek new territories at the expense of weaker clans. Fugitives from conquered districts, or the old proprietors of lands seized on by a stronger clan sank in status, retaining a certain amount of personal freedom, but no longer entitled to a share in the land.⁴ They settled on the demesne

¹ The *Fiant*s of the reign of Elizabeth, published in the Appendix to the Reports of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, show instances of all the various forms of grants. One can notice the extreme vagueness of some grants.

² See Bonn, Vol. I, pp. 57, etc. As late as 1602 we find "*nativos et nativas*" included in a grant to the Lord of Upper Ossory. (Morrin: *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Eliz., p. 599.) *Nativus* was the ordinary low Latin for *villein*. Bonn prints (Vol. I, p. 394) Chichester's proclamation of 1605, amongst other things abolishing serfdom.

³ At the time of the Plantation of Wexford, 667 claimed freeholds. The total population is given as about 15,000.

⁴ Examples of this have been seen in the case of Desmond and Muskerry. The O'Connells, once lords of a large part of Magunihy,

lands of the chiefs, or their kinsmen, and under their protection. Thus the chiefs came to have under them large bodies of dependents, who were somewhat in the position of feudal vassals and were not connected by ties of blood with the original clan.

The chiefs grew strong, the poorer clansmen grew weak in proportion, and their numbers were liable to diminish by the chances of war. From the thirteenth century on, the power of the chiefs steadily grew. More and more of the clan lands were appropriated by the chiefs to provide for their sons. The latter turned temporary grants into hereditary lordships, becoming founders of new septs, offshoots of the ruling house. Thus the O'Briens, descendants of Brian Boru, whose original patrimony was only a small district round Killaloe, gradually became owners of a large part of Clare, Limerick and Tipperary. In some cases the original proprietors were violently dispossessed, in others they were gradually reduced to the condition of tenants. And I have already drawn attention to the manner in which the descendants of Dermot Mac Carthy, last King of South Munster, became founders of septs which in Elizabeth's reign owned great districts in Cork and Kerry in which, previous to the thirteenth century, the Mac Carthys had practically no footing.⁵

But while everywhere there was a tendency for the ruling family of a tribe to get possession of a large part of the tribal territory, and to expand into a clan having large possessions, independent of the position of its head as king or chief of the whole tribe, the extent to which this process had been carried out differed very much in different districts.

Some portions of the island had never been affected by the Anglo-Norman invasion. Such were Donegal, Fermanagh and Leitrim in the North, Clare in the West. In these districts the land was divided among many clans, some of them not connected by ties of blood with the ruling

became warders of Ballycarbery, retaining their free status, but not their clan organisation. The Mac Swinys, land owners in Donegal, sent out an offshoot to Muskerry who served as hereditary gallowglass, and were warders of Mashanaglass, and other castles, but had no lands until towards the close of the Tudor period.

⁵ Many other examples could be quoted, such as the O'Neills, O'Donnells, Maguires, MacGennisses, clans all holding wide districts in the sixteenth century, which in the twelfth century had belonged to other clans. According to the *Annals of Ulster* the first of the Maguires to rule Fermanagh was Donn, who died in 1302.

house, some older in the land than the chiefs.⁶ The result was that the land was divided among many septs; there were many freemen entitled to property; the demesne of the head chief was small; though very often septs descended from the ruling house had become possessed of a good deal of the territory. In Fermanagh, we are told by Sir John Davies, the number of men claiming land was very great; many of them belonged to septs settled in Fermanagh before Maguire obtained the chieftainship; Maguire's demesne lands were of very small extent.⁷

Other districts had never been conquered by the Anglo-Normans; but they had been seized on by clans expelled by the invaders from their original homes. So the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, driven from Kildare, conquered the hill districts of Wicklow, the O'Flahertys seized on the country west of Lough Corrib; the O'Sullivans, driven from Tipperary, found new homes in south-west Cork and Kerry.

Now, it would seem that, by Irish law, lands conquered under the leadership of a chief, became the property of that chief to distribute as he pleased. The old proprietors were deprived of all their rights, their lands were divided among the new comers. It would seem that in such a case the victorious chief portioned out the greater part of the new acquisitions among his sons and immediate kinsmen. The leading warriors of the clan got their shares; but the mass of the fighting men received no estates of their own, but were given lands as tenants of the chief and of the leading men. This would seem to be indicated by the state of the O'Sullivan territories in Elizabeth's time, of which I have already spoken.

There were some O'Neills and some O'Lynes in whom we may possibly see descendants of the followers of the chiefs who made the settlement. But our author expressly states that "All the four branches of the collateral cousins of the aforesaid O'Sullivans that came along with them, . . . had no estate conferred on them, but large and beneficial farms, with some tokens of rents." And he goes on to

⁶ In Clare, the O'Loughlins and O'Conors in the west of the county were of quite a different stock from the ruling Dalcassian clans. In Fermanagh, Sir John Davies says that there were many gentlemen who claimed estate of freehold by a more ancient title than Maguire claimed the chieftainship. (*Letter of 1607.*)

⁷ Rory O'More, lord of Leix, slain in 1545, is said to have had in right of his "captainship" only the "towne" of Stradbally with its appurtenances, worth £10 a year. The customs, duties, perquisites and profits of the captainship were worth £100. His private inheritance of land was worth yearly 70 marks, and he also held land mortgaged to him for the loan of cattle, 515 cows in all. *Jour. Kil. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. IV, N.S., p. 364.

enumerate the various septs descended from the first O'Sullivan Mór, and to specify the lands given to each, in a way which shows that these O'Sullivans occupied nearly the whole of their new conquests.

Other districts had been conquered and more or less thickly colonised by the English; but had been recovered by the Irish in the fourteenth century, and the settlers expelled. This was the case with much of west Cork, north Tipperary, Queen's County, Carlow, and a great part of Ulster and Connaught. Sometimes the original owners rose and expelled the settlers. The O'Ferralls of Longford, the O'Kellys of Galway, the O'Dowds of Sligo, are examples of this. But even here the land, when recovered, seems to have been considered as vested in the chief, and was divided by him as he liked among his followers. The old rights of the clan were held to be extinguished by the English conquest. So Dugald Mac Firbis, writing of the old owners of Tyrawley in Mayo and Sligo, says: "The English drove these chieftains from their patrimonial inheritances (which we have enumerated) but Sen Bhrian took the country (particularly Tir Fhiachrach) from the English, but though he did, I think that many of the same old chieftains did not get much hold of their hereditary districts from him, for it is certain that the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of Sen Bhrian divided the lands among themselves."⁸

Sometimes it happened that the English were expelled by a clan which before the twelfth century had had no hold on the district. Thus, the descendants of Hugh Boy O'Neill crossed the Bann and drove out the colonists from nearly all Antrim and Down. These lands had never been subject to the O'Neills; but now the Clan Hugh Boy settled there, and seem to have managed in time to shake off all dependence on the O'Neills of Tyrone. The O'Flynnns, MacGilmurrys, and other clans who had held this district before the English conquest, appear in the sixteenth century as "followers" of the O'Neills, and no doubt still held some lands, but by far the greater part of the district in Tudor days was divided amongst the O'Neills.

The case of Muskerry is somewhat similar. Here, too, the old proprietors of that part of Muskerry north of the Lee were a clan named O'Flynn. But they are not mentioned at all in Tudor days, and none of the name held land in

⁸ *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fhiachrach*. This Sen Bhrian, "Old Brian" O'Dowd, lived, it is said, to be nearly a hundred, and ruled for 54 years, so he might easily have been able to settle his great-grandsons in possession of the districts he had conquered.

1641. The greater part of Muskerry in the sixteenth century was, as we have seen, held by the chief as demesne, or by septs of Mac Carthys sprung from Dermod Mór, the first Lord of Muskerry.

On the whole, the analogy of Muskerry enables us to judge of the condition of the districts from which the English had been expelled by a clan which had not previously been settled there. A few of the older clans held lands, the greater part of the country was in the hands of the chief, or of septs closely related to him. These septs being of comparatively recent foundation, the number of persons entitled to land was small.⁹ The greater part of the free population were in the position of tenants to the chief and his kinsmen, and the extent of the chief's demesne enabled him to support a great body of dependents, free or unfree, unconnected by blood with the clan.

These varied conditions of the clans may help to explain Elizabeth's treatment of particular cases. A chief such as Mac Carthy of Muskerry, who already had a very large part of the territory in his possession as demesne, would have little difficulty in passing himself off as the owner of the whole country. However, there are many cases which cannot be thus accounted for. The special services of particular chiefs, or the caprice of Lord Deputies, were some of the factors which explain why some chiefs received grants of the entire clan territories.

The best example of what was done under Elizabeth is the great settlement of the landed property in Clare and Connaught, known as the Composition of Connaught. Sir Henry Sidney, Deputy from about 1570, had induced most of the lords of these districts to surrender their lands to the Crown, with the object of having them regranted with a clear title by Letters Patent. Nothing, however, was done till Sir John Perrott took the whole matter in hand in 1585.

A commission was sent down to settle the details. The object to be attained was set forth in a letter from Walsingham—"To give each chief his own, with a *salvo jure* to all

⁹ I give the relationship of the various septs of the Mac Carthys in Muskerry to the chief. Of six septs, five at least were sprung from the first lord, Dermod Mór, who died about the middle of the fourteenth century. The sept of Tuath na Dromin were descended from Felim, fourth son of Dermod Mór, and the sept of Clan Fada from his fifth son, Donough. The sept of "Shanekillie" were sprung from Donnell, the fifth Lord, grandson of Dermod Mór. From Eoghan, who was alive in 1495, came the sept of Cloghroe. Clan Cormac Gge was probably the chief's sept, descendants of Cormac Oge, tenth Lord, who died in 1537. These six septs held 66 ploughlands.

others that have right.”¹⁰ Inquisitions were taken to find out the area of the lands, and who were the owners according to Irish law; and letters patent were to be made out giving a legal title to these owners.

Indentures were made with the chief lords and gentlemen of each territory to secure the payment of a quit rent to the Queen, generally 10s. per quarter of 120 acres,¹¹ and to compensate the chiefs for the loss of their Irish “cuttings, spendings, and customary duties.”¹²

The indentures entered into on this occasion give a clear picture of the work of the settlement. The details for the County Sligo offer an excellent example of the procedure followed. The greater part of the modern county had been granted to the Fitzgeralds by the De Burgos, soon after the invasion of Connaught. It passed back again into De Burgo hands, though the Earls of Kildare still claimed to be lords of the district in Elizabeth’s time.¹³

After the murder of the last Earl of Ulster, a branch of the O’Conors seized the castle of Sligo and the adjoining territory of Carbury. The clans inhabiting the rest of the county, O’Dowds, O’Haras, Mac Donoughs, and O’Garas, expelled all the English settlers, and recognised the O’Conors as overlords. But Sligo and Carbury were claimed by the O’Donnells of Tyrconnell as their patrimony from time immemorial, and more than once the O’Conors were forced to recognise these claims.¹⁴ At the time of the Composition twenty quarters in Carbury were held by O’Donnell, and we have already mentioned the distracted O’Conor’s petition regarding the 360 marks rent which he ought to pay to somebody. The rest of the barony of Carbury (excluding church lands) was divided among four septs of O’Conors, or formed part of the chief’s demesne lands.¹⁵

¹⁰ The phrase has reference to Mac William of Mayo and his son, but it illustrates the general policy (*Iar Connaught*, p. 107).

¹¹ The normal division of land in Connaught was the “quarter” of 120 acres.

¹² The proceedings as to the Connaught lands on this occasion are printed in *Iar Connaught*, p. 309, etc.; those for Clare in the Appendix to White’s *History of Clare*.

¹³ Notices of the Kildare claims to Sligo occur in *Car. Cal.*, 1566, p. 377; *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1591, pp. 406 and 461.

¹⁴ See O’Rourke’s *History of Sligo*. O’Donnell declared in 1542 that the lands round Sligo had belonged to him and his ancestors for 1,000 years. (*St. Paps.*, Hy. VIII, Vol. III, Pt. 3, p. 372.) In *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1576, p. 94, it is said that his rent of 300 marks out of Sligo had been paid since St. Patrick’s day.

¹⁵ These septs were all sprung from Donnell O’Conor, who died in 1395 (O’Rourke).

In the first place, all claims of O'Donnell, the Earl of Kildare, and the Earl of Clanricarde seem to have been ignored, though O'Donnell apparently kept the 20 quarters in his possession.¹⁶ The usual rent was reserved to the Queen, certain lands being free from the charge; and the castle of Ballimote and some lands given up to her.

Then O'Connor was given the castle of Sligo, and all the demesne lands to himself and his heirs, as well as all the lands of Sliocht Owine O'Connor, "from whom the said Sir Donough O'Connor is said to be descended," in all 32 quarters. From 80 quarters in possession of the three other septs of O'Conors he was to get a yearly chief rent of 13s. 4d. per quarter. He also got 8s. 0d. per quarter out of 154 quarters in Tireragh, 10s. 0d. out of 156 quarters in Leyney, the same out of 20 quarters in Coolavin, 9s. 3d. out of 110 quarters in Corran, and 6s. 6d. out of 166 quarters in Tirerril.¹⁷ These sums were to be in lieu of all tributes, cuttings and spendings which he had had from these baronies in right of his office of O'Connor Sligo. The chiefs under him—Mac Donough, O'Dowd, O'Gara and two O'Haras were to have for themselves and their heirs all lands and castles "belonging to the name," as well as their own inheritance. They also got some lands free from chief rent to Queen or O'Connor. But in consideration for this, all rents and customary duties belonging to the name of Mac Donough, etc., were to cease at the death of the chiefs then living. The shares of the gentry and minor "freeholders" are not laid down in this indenture. That work was done by the Commission, after inquisitions had been made to determine each man's rights. The lesser proprietors were to hold from O'Connor by knight's service. Similar arrangements were made in the rest of Connaught and Clare, with variations according to the circumstances of individual districts. Thus O'Connor Don, O'Connor Roe, and Mac Dermot, apparently got no chief rents.¹⁸

¹⁶ Earl Rory O'Donnell expressly renounced all claims on Sligo, Tyrawley, Moylurg, Dartry and Fermanagh before receiving his patent for Tyrconnell from James I, so that the O'Donnells had still maintained their claims in spite of this settlement. So had the Earls of Kildare. (*Cal. St. Paps.*, 1604, p. 140; and 1607, p. 365, for Rory O'Donnell's claims.)

¹⁷ These baronies were held by the O'Dowds, O'Haras and other subject clans.

¹⁸ It appears from grants to O'Connor Don, Mac Dermot Roe, O'Hara and O'Beirne, *temp.* James I, that all these chiefs received certain chief rents, though none are mentioned in the Composition. These would be tributes which they had received from of old over and about the cuttings and spendings, etc. The chief rents granted to Mac William, O'Connor Sligo, etc., by the Composition were, in

In Mayo, nearly all of which belonged to "degenerate" Anglo-Normans, Mac William Iachtar got chief rents from the lands of his former vassals. The sub-chiefs and some of the leading members of the clan generally got some lands free from any chief rent, and the castles and lands attached to the "name and calling" of Mac Evillie, Mac Paddyn, etc., were given to them and their heirs. But it is expressly stipulated that this was because all the rents and customary duties belonging to these petty captainships were to be extinguished on the death of the actual chief.

There is a curious concession to the law of tanistry in the case of Mac William. It is provided that: "Whereas there appeareth certain emulation or envy betwixt the above-named Mac William Eyghter and his kinsmen, whereof there are some competitors that by reason of their birth, being descended from Mac Williams of greater fame and reputation than the same Sir Richard Burke, think themselves more worthy of the English succession now devised by this composition, and others, standing upon their expectancy of succeeding to his place, wisheth the continuance of that customary name, that it shall rest in the consideration of the Lord Deputy for the time being, how and in what sort, the above named castles, lands, etc., belonging to the name of Mac William shall be disposed or limited to the said Mac William and his kinsmen."

As usual, the dormant claims of the Ormonds were revived and allowed, while those of other Anglo-Norman lords were ignored. The Earl of Ormond was recognised as owner of Achill Island, and the mainland adjoining, not a very profitable district, as well as of a large tract in the lands of the O'Kellys of Hy Many.

The lordship of the O'Flahertys comprised two baronies inhabited by O'Flahertys and kindred or subject clans, and one—Ross—inhabited by a family of Welsh origin named Joyce, who had been conquered by the O'Flahertys, and had become quite Irish. Besides this the O'Flahertys had lately wrested the isles of Arran from the O'Briens. Their whole territory was estimated at 318 quarters, each quarter containing 120 acres "manured or to be manured, under tillage or cattle," besides wood, bog, etc. All Irish customs, chieftainships, were to be abolished. The Queen was to get 10s. 0d. per quarter out of 280 quarters. Sir Murrough ne Doc O'Flaherty, as chief, got 15 quarters free of this

part at any rate, new rents to take the place of the cuttings and spendings. "O'Brien's and Mac Namara's rentals," documents of the fourteenth century show that many chiefs had fixed money tributes from the clan.

rent, and about 60 quarters as well, his own inheritance, or demesne. He got 5s. 0d. per quarter from 57 quarters of the Joyces; and the rest of the freeholders in Ross were to hold of him by knight's service, according to his or their portion of land. From 191 quarters in the rest of the territory he got the same rent; but here all freeholders were to hold from the Queen. Teige na Buile O'Flaherty, who was chief of the western part, got fifteen quarters free of rent to Sir Murrough, six of them being also free from the Queen's rent; and after Teige's death all rents and customary duties due to the name of O'Flaherty were to be extinguished.¹⁹ Three other O'Flahertys were to have certain lands free from both rents. The chief of the Joyces got a quarter free, and was to renounce all rents, duties and customs except such as were due by persons holding from him.

Exceptionally we find the clan lands given to the chief in the case of the O'Shaughnessys, who were subjects to the Earl of Clanricarde. Here the heirs of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy got 101 quarters—apparently the whole territory—paying 10s. a year per quarter to the Queen for 93 quarters, and 10s. a year to Clanricarde for about 50 quarters.²⁰ Henry VIII had given a general grant of his lands to O'Shaughnessy, and this grant must have been interpreted as bestowing on him the whole clan lands, though no such interpretation was put on similar grants to Mac Namara and O'Brien.

The grant to O'Conor Sligo of the lands of the sept, "from whom he is said to be descended," in addition to the demesne lands, is worthy of notice. It may be explained by the fact that the demesne lands in this case were very small, for the total amount given him was only 32 quarters and 28½ quarters were the lands of the above-mentioned sept. But in any case we often find the lands of a sept, as distinguished from those of a clan, given to the head of the sept. The Ceannfine or head of a sept, though elected by tanistry, was usually the senior in blood. The number of members in any given sept might be very few, from the chances of war, or the recent origin of the sept.²¹ If they

¹⁹ Teige na Buile was the senior of the whole race, and tanist to Donald Crone, who was the actual chief by election, but who had been set aside by Elizabeth in favour of Sir Murrough (*Iar Con-naught*).

²⁰ The *Books of Survey and Distribution* show Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy as owner of practically the whole clan territory in 1641.

²¹ We have already seen how the Commissioners appointed to settle Bere found only three persons whom they considered to be members of the chief's sept.

only included brothers, uncles, sons and nephews of the head of the sept, the English lawyers with their superstitious reverence for primogeniture, might very easily regard him as the proper owner of the sept lands.²²

It is worthy of notice that the *Books of Survey and Distribution* plainly show the existence of collective ownership in Connaught in 1641. These books, as far as they relate to portions of Sligo and Mayo, have been printed in O'Hart's *Irish Landed Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland*; and we find several cases where such and such lands are described as held in 1641 by such and such a sept.

In other cases these books show an extraordinary subdivision of property. Thus in the Barony of Ross, or "Joyce's County," the lands of Maine, estimated at half a quarter and containing 450 acres are given as divided as follows:—²³

Moyler Mac Richard Joyce had $\frac{1}{3}$ of a cartron and $\frac{1}{9}$ of a cartron, and the $\frac{1}{9}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of a cartron, and $\frac{1}{6}$ of the other cartron.

Richard Oge Joyce had $\frac{2}{3}$ of a cartron; Henry McFiagh Joyce, $\frac{1}{3}$; Teige Oge O'Flaherty, $\frac{1}{12}$, and Andrew Lynch Fitzwilliam had $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cartron.

Another denomination, called Termekille, was counted as a "quarter." It contained over 2,000 acres, of which only about 124 are returned as "profitable." It was thus divided:

Nicholas Oge French had 3 cartrons and $\frac{1}{21}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ a cartron. Edmund McTibbott Joyce had $\frac{10}{12}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ a cartron. Moyler Mac Richard Joyce, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ a cartron, and $\frac{1}{20}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ a cartron. Moyler McHenry Joyce had $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cartron.

First we remark here an extreme subdivision. Of the 124 profitable acres of Termekille, more than $\frac{3}{4}$ were held by Nicholas Oge French. The remaining 30 were divided among three persons.²⁴ And as we see from the first example, these small properties were not in one continuous piece. Moyler Mac Richard Joyce's lands lay in each of the two "cartrons" of Maine, and he had also a portion of

²² Seebohm points out (*Tribal System in Wales*, p. 89) how the head of a "wle" might be regarded as the landowner of the district occupied by his kindred. And he exemplifies this by a concrete instance on p. 91.

²³ The Connaught "quarter" of 120 acres, with their proportion of waste, bog, etc., was divided into four "cartrons."

²⁴ In neither case do the fractions work out accurately.

one of the cartrons in Termekille.²⁵ And from the manner in which his lands in this last are entered, one is tempted to suppose that they lay in three detached pieces there.

Secondly, the extraordinary fractional divisions arrest attention. Why do the surveyors say that Moyler McHenry Joyce had $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cartron, instead of simply saying $\frac{1}{12}$, as they had in the case of Teige Oge O'Flaherty? Probably because we have here a division springing from the rules of inheritance by Gavelkind, when there was no certain spot of land allotted to the clansman, but when he was entitled to a fixed *proportion* of land, no matter where he might receive it.²⁶ A Welsh example will make this clearer. The descendants of a certain Rand' Vaghan ap Asser held $\frac{1}{3}$ part of a *villata* called Prestelegot. They were divided into the four *weles* of each of his sons, and these *weles* were subdivided into the *gavells* of his grandsons, four gavells each in the case of the first two of his sons, three in the case of the third, two in the case of the fourth. Now, the gavel of the fourth son of Rand' Vaghan's eldest son was divided among five holders. Hence, granting that their shares were equal, each would hold $\frac{1}{5}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of Prestelegot. And in the *villata* of Petruall, where the posterity of the same Rand Vaghan had $\frac{1}{13}$ part, the remaining twelve being held by other kindreds, each of the above-mentioned five would be naturally described as entitled to $\frac{1}{5}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{13}$ of Petruall.²⁷ Thus we arrive at the same fractional division very peculiar looking at first, but in reality giving a very easy way of remembering each man's share.

We know so little of the real working of Gavelkind in Ireland that these entries from the *Books of Survey and*

²⁵ That is unless there were two Moyler Mac Richards.

²⁶ A resolution of the Irish judges condemned gavelkind in 1606 (Davies *Law Reports*), and incidentally described the system. But all lands enjoyed by the mere Irish up to the commencement of the king's reign by reason of gavelkind were excluded from the operation of this resolution. Hence in 1641 there might easily still be traces of the custom; and, moreover, there was nothing to prevent a father dividing his inheritance among his sons.

²⁷ I take these Welsh examples from the Appendix to Mr. Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*. They refer to the 8th year of Edward III. On p. 58 of the Appendix certain persons are said to hold two parts and a third of a third part of the "half gavel" of Nynyat, one of the eight sons of a certain Canon ap Lauwargh, who held a sixth part of the *villata* of Prees.

According to Seebohm, the Welsh divisions were made "per capita," not "per stirpes," so that the analogy given above will not hold. But if the Irish division was "per stirpes" one can at once account for the fractional divisions of these Connaught lands. (Seebohm: *Tribal System*, p. 74.)

Distribution, and the Welsh analogies given in Mr. Seebohm's book seem very worthy of a close comparison.²⁸

The south-west corner of Ireland gives us a good example of the great want of uniformity, which is one characteristic feature of the land settlement finally arrived at. At the same time, it shows that the prevailing policy was to divide the clan lands among the clan, as far as was possible without creating a peasant proprietary. The settlement in this district, begun by Elizabeth, was not completed until the reign of James I.

I have already indicated the main facts in connection with the land settlement in each of the four great subdivisions of the Mac Carthy territory. In Duhallow Mac Donough, chief of the whole barony, applied in 1615 for leave to surrender and obtain a regrant of his lands. His request was acceded to, with the proviso that in preparing the grant, care was to be taken "that the said Dermot shall not by force of his new grants avoid the particular estates of his undertenants, provided they shall have been contributory to the charges of procuring said grant."²⁹

Either they were not so "contributory" or Mac Donough had special influence at court, for he obtained a grant of all the lands of his own clan as well as "all rents, customs and privileges used to be paid to the Lord of Duhallow for the lands and territories of Poble Icallaghane, Poble Ikeiff," etc. And in 1641 there were only two or three other proprietors of the name of Mac Donough or Mac Carthy in Duhallow.

²³ A recent writer points out that we have little or no proof that the account of the working of gavelkind given by the resolution of the judges, above referred to, is accurate. Nor do we even know that gavelkind was an Irish term. And it is very difficult to reconcile the resolution, and the verdict of the jury before alluded to with regard to the lands of the O'Callaghans, with Sir John Davies' description of the condition of Fermanagh. "Moreover they" (the scholars of the country) "took upon them to tell what quantity of land every man ought to have by the custom of the country, which is of the nature of gavelkind, whereby as their septs and families did multiply their possessions have been from time to time divided and sub-divided and broken into so many small parcels as almost every acre of land hath a several owner, which termeth himself a lord and his portion of land his country." (See articles by Mr. A. Clery, K.C., on *The Tribal Occupier and Sir John Davies*, in *New Ireland Rev.*, March and April, 1905.) Besides, an account of the plantation of Longford expressly mentions the grief of the natives on being moved from their former possessions. If the clansmen were perpetually being moved from place to place, how can one account for the attachment to his home which characterises the Irish peasant of the present day, and which has been displayed over and over again during the nineteenth century?

²⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Jas. I, p. 201.

Similarly all the lands of the O'Keeffes were granted by James to the chief. The whole clan territory belonged in 1641 to Art O'Keeffe. The chiefs of this clan had special claims on the government on account of their loyalty; and it is quite possible that the clansmen entitled to land were few in number, for almost the whole of the fighting-men of the O'Keeffes had been cut off by the insurgent Geraldines during the Desmond rebellion.

On the other hand, the MacAuliffes had joined in the Desmond rebellion. Their chief was attainted, and his attainder was held to vest all the clan lands in the Crown.

I have already spoken at length of the case of the fourth of the Duhallow clans, the O'Callaghans. The chief had tried in 1594 to "grab" the clan lands; but a certain number, at any rate, of his kinsmen had secured estates, and appear as holding directly from the Crown in various Inquisitions of the days of James I and Charles I. The inferior clansmen, however, seem to have lost their lands, becoming tenants of the greater men.

In Muskerry Sir Cormac Mac Teige, and after him his nephew and successor, had obtained grants of the whole of Muskerry, including by name the lands held by the subject clans. An incidental notice in the *State Papers* shows that the government was aware that the claims of the Lords of Muskerry to be owners of the lands of at least one of their subject clans—the O'Learys—were unjust.³⁰ But the services of both these Lords of Muskerry to the Crown had been very great, so their demands were granted.

Yet it appears from the *Books of Survey and Distribution* that the Lords had been forced by public opinion or governmental pressure to give estates to some of the chief inhabitants. About thirty-five O'Learys, some twenty Mac Carthys, and about twenty other proprietors held estates in Muskerry in 1641. But the circumstance that in the vast majority of cases the lands of these proprietors were "restored" to the Earl of Clancarthy in accordance with the Act of Settlement shows that they were held not from the Crown but from him.

I have already dwelt at length on the peculiar features presented by the territories more directly under Mac Carthy Mór. There were, in 1641, some 260 landowners in the ancient Desmond. But almost all of these owned great scopes of land, showing that here it was mostly the chief members of the various septs who had been provided for

³⁰ *Cal. St. Paps*, 1588, p. 545.

Only about twenty landowners appear in the whole of the territory ruled over by O'Sullivan Bere.

Desmond then forms a kind of transition between Duhallow, where the chiefs got all or most of the clan lands, and Carbery, where the rights of the clansmen were respected.

In Carbery, there were over 400 native landowners in 1641. Some of these, especially among the O'Driscolls and O'Donovans, had very minute portions of land, not always lying in one compact piece, but intermingled with other small fragmentary properties. Here there was, to a certain extent, a regular peasant proprietary, such as we have seen in Connaught.

But even here there was no uniformity.

The whole of the lands of Sliocht Felim of Glenacroim were granted to the chief of the sept. They had been confiscated, in theory at least, under Elizabeth on account of a murder committed by one of the chiefs.³¹ O'Mahony of Kinelmeaky was attainted for joining in Desmond's rebellion, and his whole territory, 36,000 acres, was confiscated and given to two English "undertakers."

I have already drawn attention to the curious fact that there seem to be no grants to the smaller landowners of Carbery, so that we do not know how or when the individual clansmen were settled in their possessions. What is certain is that here the clansmen were looked on as the real owners of the clan lands.

The actual number of proprietors secured in their estates in Carbery and other districts may seem small. It is certain that there was much injustice in individual cases. The poorer clansmen, who could only claim a few acres as their inheritance, were very generally deprived of their land, and reduced to the position of tenants. This was because the statesmen of the time objected, as I have already said, to peasant proprietorship. Then, too, the chiefs were more easily able to override the rights of the poor than those of the more powerful members of the clan.³²

Yet the number who thus suffered was not as great as is popularly imagined. In the Irish part of County Wexford

³¹ See Mac Carthy. *The MacCarthys of Glenacroim*; also *Fiants*, Eliz., No. 5520, and *Pat. Rolls*, Jas. I, p. 289.

³² From the *Patent Rolls*, Jas. I, p. 348. we find that about eighty proprietors in Connemara gave power to Morrogh na Moire O'Flaherty to procure grants to himself of lands lately surrendered by them which were found by inquisition to be their property. No doubt the intention was that he should regrant to the proper owners. But the *Books of Survey and Distribution* show that he did not do so.

667 persons claimed a right to a share of the clan lands. Of these only 440 were presented by the jurors to be freeholders, and surrendered their estates. The total population was fifteen or sixteen thousand.³³ So that, if we allow five persons to a family, about one-fifth of the males, at the outside, considered themselves as entitled to land. In Carbery the septs of the Mac Carthys were, almost without exception, descended from members of the ruling house, who were born subsequent to 1200 A.D. Therefore, allowing for the check to population of the never-ending wars of the middle ages, and remembering that there were no Mac Carthys in Carbery before the early thirteenth century, the number of males having a claim to the 299 ploughlands held by these septs cannot have been large.³⁴

The net result arrived at during the reign of Elizabeth was that the main lines for the settlement of the land had been laid down for a great part of the island. Some of the more influential lords had obtained all the clan lands; over a large part of Ireland it had been decided that they were to be satisfied with the demesne lands set aside by the clan to provide for the maintenance of the chief. In some cases the grants were so vaguely worded that it was quite uncertain what had been granted.³⁵ Everywhere the constant warfare which went on during Elizabeth's reign interfered to prevent a thorough settlement.

With regard to the land of those who rebelled, a fairly consistent policy was pursued all during Elizabeth's reign. The lands of all who were slain or executed during the

³³ Details *re* this Wexford plantation are given in *Cal. St. Paps.*, Vols. for 1611-14, and 1615-25. See also Miss Hickson's *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, and my *Confiscation in Irish History*.

³⁴ The *Books of Survey and Distribution* give the names of practically every landowner in 1641. From them it appears that the older clans who had held Carbery in the twelfth century, and whose names have been recorded with great minuteness in "The Genealogy of Corca Laidhe," printed in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, had lost nearly all their lands. Yet descendants of these old clans are still numerous.

³⁵ So Chichester's Proclamation of March 11th, 1605, declares: "And whereas his Maiestie hath lately by his Letters Patents given and graunted sundrie large Territories and Countries to divers Lords . . . wherein are contained certaine ample and generall Words and Clauses, by colour and pretence whereof the Lords and Gentlemen do claime and challenge unto themselves the interest and possession of such Lands as divers auncient freeholders and their auncestors have been lawfully seized of . . . beyond the time of memorie," etc. And it goes on to order the Lords to permit such ancient freeholders quietly and peaceably to hold and enjoy their lawful freeholds at the ancient certain rents and services. (Bonn: Vol. I, p. 394.)

rebellion were confiscated.³⁶ In many cases, however, they were regranted to relatives of the former owners, who had remained loyal. The survivors, on making their submission, were, in almost all instances, restored to their estates.

Of the four great insurrections during the reign, only two were followed by extensive confiscations. On the death of Shane O'Neill an Act of Parliament vested most of Ulster in the Crown.³⁷ Legally, the Crown was already entitled to all Ulster not covered by special grants, so that the Act was more explanatory than anything else. In any case, little or no attempt was made to enforce it. The clans were left undisturbed, with the prospect of obtaining a grant of their possessions on making a formal surrender of them.³⁸

The confiscation which followed on the suppression of the great Desmond rebellion was more important. An Act was passed in 1586 attainting 140 persons by name. The lands of those who had actually perished during the rebellion were seized and distributed among English "Undertakers." Much, however, was restored to the Knight of Glynn, the White Knight, etc.; and the Barrys, Fitzmaurices and others, who had submitted before the death of the Earl, were confirmed in their estates.³⁹

This was the only confiscation on an extensive scale; but all over the island isolated estates were forfeited.⁴⁰ Sometimes the attainder of a chief was held to involve the forfeiture of the entire clan lands, as in the cases of Mac Auliffe, and O'Mahony of Kinelmeaky. In others, where the chief had been loyal, or had been pardoned and restored to his estates, it suited the officials better to hold the theory that the individual clansmen were the real proprietors. Inquisitions of the early years of James I give a list of about seventy clansmen of the O'Byrnes, whose estates, all specified by name, and most of them extremely

³⁶ Often the death in rebellion of a chief was held to involve the forfeiture of all the lands of his clan in the Crown, as in the case of O'Donoghue Mór and Mac Carthy of Coshmaing.

³⁷ XI, Elizabeth.

³⁸ Some unsuccessful efforts were made by Smith and the Earl of Essex to "plant" the districts near the sea, or on the borders of the Pale.

³⁹ According to Bonn, out of 577,000 acres originally supposed to have fallen to the Crown, about 375,000 were found to belong to freeholders innocent of the rebellion, or who had been pardoned. The final total area confiscated was 202,099 acres. He does not say whether English or Irish acres. (Bonn: Vol. I, p. 299.)

⁴⁰ These forfeitures amounted in the aggregate to a very considerable area. Much of Connaught was in Protestant hands in 1641, some of it by purchase, more as the result of these sporadic confiscations.

small,⁴¹ were held to have been forfeited during the insurrections of Lord Baltinglas and Hugh O'Neill.

King James at first continued Elizabeth's policy. The great Ulster Lords—O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Dogherty and others—who had submitted before the news of Elizabeth's death had been published in Ireland, were restored to or confirmed in all their territories, in accordance with an implied promise at the time of their submission.

Rory O'Donnell, created Earl of Tyrconnell, at once proceeded to induce all his subject chiefs to make surrenders to him, by which they acknowledged him as owner in fee of all Tyrconnell.⁴² One of these vassal chiefs, Mac Swyna Doe, had gone over to the Royal party during the insurrection; and had got from Elizabeth a grant of all the lands of his clan. This grant, too, was surrendered to O'Donnell. The counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Derry and Armagh were by these grants practically handed over in fee simple to five individuals.⁴³

In the rest of Ireland the King, however, at first followed the opposite policy. The Patent Rolls of the early years of the reign contain numerous grants showing this.

The almost general insurrection under Hugh O'Neill had caused confusion everywhere. A Commission of Defective Titles was issued; and all landowners who felt doubtful as to their legal position were encouraged to surrender their lands and receive new grants. Many of the great landowners of Anglo-Norman descent took advantage of this.⁴⁴ Besides, many Irish chiefs who up to this had made no surrenders now legalised their position.

Some of the grants are very instructive. Mac i Brien of Arra got about 36 carucates in demesne, and from the rest of his country chief rents in money and "Customary rents, viz., sheep, oxen, hogs, mowers, reapers, labourers, plough-days, which rents and impositions are in lieu of all other customs, refections, impositions or cess of horse, horse boys,

⁴¹ Some of these O'Byrnes are said to have only owned two or three acres (*Pat. Rolls*, Jas. I, p. 115).

⁴² His own version of this is in *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1607, p. 372.

⁴³ The Earls of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, O'Dogherty, O'Hanlon and O'Neill of the Fews.

Chichester's Proclamation refers no doubt to these grants, and also probably to some of the grants to lords of Anglo-Norman descent.

⁴⁴ In the Anglo-Norman districts in Munster the lesser proprietors could almost all show good titles from their immediate lords. But the titles of these lords were in many cases doubtful. Lord Roche and Lord Burke of Castleconnell, for instance, deemed it prudent to surrender and obtain fresh grants.

contributions of Sragh, Sorehen, and boneragh, duties, casualties, aids, benevolencies or free gifts, cuttings, cosheries, and other advantages, claims and demands whatsoever"—a most exhaustive list of "Irish exactions." The chief rents came to £78 12s. 4d. "old silver of England," ten oxen, seventy-six sheep, and five hogs.⁴⁵

O'Hara, in County Sligo, got chief rents, certain "methers" of wheat, thirty wooden dishes, six stone of iron.⁴⁶

Owen O'Sullivan, of Bantry, was given the lordship of Bere, forfeited by his kinsman the famous Donnell O'Sullivan Bere. He got in demesne about 66 ploughlands, and chief rents from the rest of Bere, some of which had been paid in money from of old, others now imposed instead of certain duties of butter, etc., others which the barony had formerly paid to the Earls of Desmond.⁴⁷

O'Dunne of Iregan, in Queen's County, was confirmed in the possession of a most extraordinary variety of duties, probably because here all the old arbitrary exactions had already been commuted for these fixed payments. He got, besides the demesne lands and his own private inheritance, "all and singular the annual customs and rents of silver, beeves, oats, bread, butter and malt, etc." For instance, from the quarter of Rerimore he got "eight shillings, two beeves, twenty cronocks of oats, forty cakes of bread, thirteen dishes of butter, and a heriot after the death of every 'canfinny,' a hook day in autumn out of every twenty acres, and two ploughdays, one in summer, one in winter, out of every plough, and four shillings for horseboy's diet."⁴⁸

The most valuable account which we have of the policy of settlement pursued in the early days of James I is contained in a letter of Sir John Davies to the Earl of Salisbury, describing his tour in the southern counties of Ulster in 1607. These counties—Monaghan, Fermanagh and Cavan—were still in confusion as a consequence of the great rising under Earl Hugh O'Neill. The Lord Deputy, therefore, determined to visit them personally "to discover and understand the true and particular state, both of the possessions and possessors thereof, before he gave warrants for passing the same by Letters Patent unto any, and thereby prevent that error which hath formerly been com-

⁴⁵ *Pat. Rolls*, Jas. I, p. 89.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

mitted in passing all Tyrone to one, and Tyrconnel to another"

Again we are told as regards Fermanagh: "But touching the inferior gentlemen and inhabitants, it was not certainly known to the State here whether they were only tenants-at-will to the chief lords, whereof the uncertain cutting which the lords used upon them might be an argument, or whether they were freeholders yielding of right to their chief lord certain rights and services, as many of them do allege, affirming that the Irish cutting was an usurpation and a wrong. This was a point wherein the Lord Deputy and Council did much desire to be resolved," etc.

A settlement had, as I have said, been already made in Monaghan by Sir W. Fitzwilliams in Elizabeth's reign. On the attainder and execution of the chief, Hugh Roe Mac Mahon, four of the five baronies in the county had been divided among the natives. Six of the principal Mac Mahons, and Mac Kenna, chief of the leading subject clan, got estates of from about two to five thousand acres each; and chief rents from the rest of the freeholders, amounting to £10 from every 960 acres, were divided among them. The rest of the inhabitants who could show their title to land received grants to themselves and their heirs.

The rebellion had disturbed this settlement; but it was now revised and confirmed in all essentials. Over three hundred Irish received estates in the four baronies, the minimum grant to anyone being sixty English acres. As the fighting force of the clan was said in 1586 to amount to one hundred horse and four hundred foot, it is evident that by far the majority of the landowners under Irish law were now secured in their estates.⁴⁹

The state of affairs in Fermanagh was different. The lord, Cuconnaght Maguire, had obtained a grant from Elizabeth in general terms, of the whole country.⁵⁰ His son and successor, Hugh, was slain in rebellion, and the grant forfeited. But this forfeiture, it was held, did not necessarily carry with it the forfeiture of those of the inhabitants who claimed to be freeholders, and who, having survived the rebellion, had been pardoned.

A rival Maguire, Conor Roe, had sided with the Crown,

⁴⁹ The names of all the grantees are given in *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1606-08, p. 166, etc.

⁵⁰ *Fiant* 4809, 28th of Elizabeth. Maguire "shall permit the free tenants in the country to enjoy their lands, they rendering the rents and services accustomed." "All tenants within the country shall hold of Cuconnaught and his heirs by military service by such part of a Knight's fee as the Deputy shall order."

and had had as a reward a grant of the whole country after Hugh's death. But Hugh's brother and successor on the Irish side, Cuconnaght, as the price of his submission to the Crown towards the end of the war, had been promised half the country. Various plans were proposed to satisfy the two; and Conor Roe was induced to surrender his Patent, and to promise to be content with somewhat less than half. No Letters Patent had yet been made out to either; and the Lord-Deputy now set about investigating what the rights of each individual were.

It was decided that the freeholders were the real owners, and that Elizabeth's grants had only affected the chiefry and the demesne lands. These lands, which were very small, only about five thousand acres, were to be divided, along with chief rents instead of all former exactions, among the two competitors. The lands set apart for the poets, chroniclers, etc., about 2,000 acres more, were to be seized and handed over to the chiefs "in respect of the persons, that merit no respect but rather discountenance from the State."

For the rest of the country lists were made out of all who held land, and in what proportion. The Brehons were called in to give their help, and the official roll containing a list of all the rents and services due to Maguire out of the whole country, was obtained, not without some difficulty, from its hereditary custodian the chronicler and Brehon O'Bristan, and copied. The land was found to be greatly subdivided "as almost every acre of land had a several owner"—Fermanagh had never been disturbed by an English settlement. In the new division, of which the plan was now made out, no one was to get less than 120 acres; and the total number of proprietors qualified under this rule was found to be above two hundred.

The state of affairs in Cavan was less simple. Perrott had promised the whole country to Sir John O'Reilly; but the arrangement had never been carried out. Afterwards another project had been made, and agreed to by all parties, by which Sir John was to have two baronies in demesne, and 10s. per 60 acres, from three other baronies, given respectively to his brother, his uncle and the sons of another kinsman. Two other baronies held by the clans of Mac Kernan and Mac Gauran were left subject to the ordinary Irish exactions. Legal effect to this settlement was never given, and Sir John, as well as his brother Philip, and his uncle Edmund who succeeded in turn to the chieftainship, had all died or been killed in rebellion. Since Edmund's death, there had been no recognised lord. A jury of the

chief of the inhabitants, with some out of the Pale, now were induced to find that these chiefs had been seized of the whole country *in dominio suo ut de feodo et jure*, and that all their rights were now vested in the Crown. But, before they made this return, it was explained to them that their finding would not necessarily invalidate their claim to freeholds. And, as a matter of fact, the Deputy seems to have intended to follow the same course here as in Fermanagh, namely, to acknowledge the clansmen as owners. Lists of the possessors and possessions of the country were drawn up, as in Fermanagh; but Sir John does not give us any precise details. For the present, however, no further steps were taken with regard to the two counties. The Deputy decided—unluckily for the natives as it turned out—to defer the final settlement till the Michaelmas term, after his return to Dublin. This was in July, 1607, and in the following October, before anything had been done in the matter of these counties, news came to the Government of the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyreconnell.

This event marks a new epoch in the history of Irish land settlement. Once more the plan followed by Mary in Leix and Offaly, and by Elizabeth in Munster, the policy of plantation, was revived. The new idea seems to have been of slow growth. The Deputy, visiting Ulster to investigate the circumstances of the departure of the Earls, declared to the inhabitants that they would be no losers by the attainder of the fugitives; every man was to be confirmed in his own. The Earls were found guilty of treason by juries of natives whom the Crown found it convenient to consider as freeholders.

By the outlawry and attainder of the Earls the greater part of Donegal, Tyrone and Armagh was vested in the Crown. The insane revolt in 1608 of O'Dogherty, who only just before had been foreman of the jury which had brought in a verdict of treason against Tyreconnell, led to the forfeiture of the Donegal territory of Inishowen. The ownership of the modern county of Derry had been lately in dispute between the Earl of Tyrone, who alleged that O'Cahane, its chief, "held, he and his ancestors, as tenant on sufferance, as servants and followers of the Earl," and O'Cahane, who contended that O'Neill was entitled to nothing more than chief rents and Irish exactions.

Sir John Davies, called on to report on the matter, had declared that O'Cahane's country had never been lands of O'Neill in demesne, and had not been included in any of the grants to Con or Hugh O'Neill. But it had been con-

seized by name by the Act XI Elizabeth, and was, therefore, the property not of O'Cahane but of the Crown. The same held with regard to certain districts in Tyrone.

Sir Oliver St. John had recommended that a grant should be made to O'Cahane,⁵¹ with the proviso that he should in turn create a certain number of freeholders; but nothing had been done in the matter. Now, on a charge, apparently groundless, of complicity with O'Dogherty, the chief was thrown into prison, where he was kept until his death. His brother had joined O'Dogherty, and had perished. The government had, therefore, a free hand in Derry.

The claims of Sir Neal Garve O'Donnell to Donegal were got rid of in a similar manner. He had gone over to the English side at the most critical period of the northern war; and had rendered great services to the Crown.⁵² In return he claimed the fulfilment of the promises which had been made to him to put him in possession of all or most of Donegal. Instead of this he was accused—with some foundation it would appear—of complicity with O'Dogherty. He, too, was imprisoned until his death.

The territory of Orior in Armagh had been granted to the chief, O'Hanlon, by Queen Elizabeth,⁵³ with remainder to his son. The young man joined O'Dogherty, and was attainted. His father was induced to surrender his life interest in return for a pension of £80 a year. Thus all native claimants to Tyrone, Donegal, Derry, and most of Armagh were in one way or another removed, and the four counties vested in the Crown.

But this was not enough. As the idea of a great plantation of Scotch and English settlers took shape, it was determined, by a monstrous injustice, to include Cavan and Fermanagh in the scheme.⁵⁴

The decision of the Lord Deputy, a few months before, that the real owners of these counties had been, not the

⁵¹ O'Cahane had deserted O'Neill at a critical period of the war, and had received a distinct promise that he would get a grant of his country. See Docwra's *Narration* (*Misc. Celtic Soc.*, pp. 283 and 4) for Docwra's opinion as to the injustice done to O'Cahane. "The Devil take all English Men and as many as put their trust in them" were the words, according to Docwra, of O'Cahane to Hugh, son of the Earl of Tyrone (*ibid.*, p. 277).

⁵² Docwra says: "There were noe vices in poore Neale Garvie that had done us manie services" (*Narration*, p. 281).

⁵³ Saving the rights of all *not* of the sept of O'Hanlon. Here the Crown distinctly disinherited the clan. *Fiant*s, Eliz., 5090. There is a similar proviso in *Fiant* 5207, granting Inishowen to O'Dogherty.

⁵⁴ Cuconnaght Maguire had also fled to the Continent.

chiefs but the clansmen, was set aside. He had pledged himself, if not formally at least implicitly, by the whole of his proceedings to establish the inhabitants with a legal title in their several possessions. The promise was disregarded, the proceedings ignored. Sir John Davies had found in Fermanagh that the Crown had no title to the greater part of the county by the forfeiture of the chiefs; now it was laid down that the chiefs had been sole proprietors of all, and that all had now come to the Crown. In his report on Cavan he had expressly admitted the existence of freeholders among the clansmen; now, in a letter of 1610 we find him maintaining the exact opposite view, and quoting with approval the arguments brought against those natives of Cavan who claimed an estate of inheritance in their lands.

On the pretext that the Irish customs of inheritance could not be reduced to agreement with the Common Law of England it was laid down that the natives of these two counties were only tenants at will of the lords; and so, as the chief lords had been attainted, these two counties shared the fate of the other four, and were declared the property of the Crown.

There is no need to go into the details of the Plantation of Ulster. It is only right, however, to observe that some regard was paid to the native claims. In Fermanagh, where Sir John Davies had found over two hundred natives competent to be made freeholders—*i.e.*, entitled to 120 English acres and upwards—sixty-three natives received lands. Besides these, Connor Roe Maguire, who had been promised at one time the whole county, at another nearly half, and had now willingly agreed to the Plantation scheme, received nearly 7,000 acres of profitable land.⁵⁵ In Cavan only thirty-nine natives received grants. The rest of the population not only lost all their property, but were forced to leave those lands which were granted to English and Scotch Undertakers, and seek new homes on the lands granted to Servitors, natives, and the Church, the only classes allowed to let land to Irish tenants.

In the four other counties the chief men, at least, benefited to some extent.⁵⁶ The Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell had shown no disposition to give them estates by English tenure. No doubt the Earls would have left the old Irish tenures undisturbed. But to judge from the analogy of what has

⁵⁵ This was by "plantation measure." In reality he received very much more.

⁵⁶ O'Neill of the Fews, in Armagh, received a grant of his territory. His son forfeited 10,000 acres in 1641.

happened in the Scottish Highlands, and what happened also on the lands of the lords of Muskerry and Duhallow, of the MacDonnells of Antrim, and of other Irish lords who had received grants of all the clan lands, in the course of time greed would have become stronger than respect for old custom; and the successors of the Earls would have taken full advantage of the English grants which had made them sole owners of the greater part of three counties. Here and there some of their chief followers might have received from them estates of inheritance by English law; but the vast majority would have become mere tenants at will. As it was, 153 natives received grants in Armagh, Tyrone, and Donegal, under the Plantation, besides some few in Londonderry.⁵⁷

The ease with which the Plantation of Ulster had been effected, its apparent advantages, and the substantial gains it had brought to the Royal exchequer encouraged James and his advisers to try the same experiment in other parts of Ireland. In the new schemes all respect for justice—a respect which on the whole had marked the Tudor dealings with the land—was thrown aside. Henry VIII had abandoned the old plan of forcible dispossession of the natives; he had laid down the principle that the Irish were to be given a legal title to the lands they actually occupied. Sir John Davies, writing in 1607, had declared that the State had never taken hold of a title derived from conquest against such of the Irish as had not been deprived of their lands at the first conquest, but were permitted to die seized of the same in the King's allegiance.⁵⁸ This is true of Tudor days, and of the early years of James. The Tudors had encouraged the lords of Irish countries to make surrenders of their lands with a view to getting a legal title to them. But no force was used to compel them to do so; and, as is clearly shown in the cases of Donegal and Carbery, the Crown did not disturb in their possessions either the chiefs or the clansmen of those territories where no such surrender had been made.

⁵⁷ It is strange how little we really know of the Plantation of Ulster. The official accounts declare that 500,000 acres of profitable land, made up the whole six counties, and that the natives received about one-eighth of this. But there are nearly 3½ million English acres in the six counties, all of which were confiscated, and over half a million of these, at least, were owned by Irish Catholics in 1641. The acre of the State paper lists apparently equals two English acres, but this will not account for the discrepancy.

I have dealt with this question in *Confiscation in Irish History*; but the old statement that only half a million acres were confiscated crops up still in histories.

⁵⁸ Le Case de Tanistry.

Now all was changed. Old grants dating from the time of the first invasion were raked up to show that the Crown was entitled either as heir of the Mortimers, or under the Statute of Absentees, or through the treason and forfeiture of nominal English owners, to the greater part of the territory in Leinster still inhabited by the natives.

The inhabitants of the Irish half of Wexford had made a surrender of their lands in 1609 with a view to obtaining a grant under the Commission of Defective Titles. It was conveniently discovered that the lands were already the King's by a grant of Richard II, and a subsequent forfeiture. A fourth of the territory was set aside for English Undertakers, who by false measurements seem to have for a time at least got possession of a half. Of 667 natives who had claimed, of whom 440 were admitted to be freeholders and had surrendered their estates in 1609, only fifty-seven received land at first. Subsequent inquiries into the frauds of the Undertakers resulted in room being found for eighty more. The rest, over 300, were deprived of all land, on the plea that they could only show a title to less than sixty acres.⁵⁹

The Plantation of Longford followed. That the O'Ferralls had been in possession for 300 years, that the chiefs had received grants from Elizabeth, and that one of them had served the Crown in Flanders, France and Ireland, that both the King and the Deputy had promised to pass them their lands by Letters Patent, all this was of no avail. They had expelled De Lacy's heirs three hundred years ago; the King now represented those heirs; and the O'Ferralls were mere intruders; such was the lawyer's decision. In the settlement that followed, one-fourth of the land was to go to Undertakers; few natives were to get less than one hundred acres, none less than sixty; those who lost their estates were to get leases of three lives or twenty-one years from the new landlords, a condition which was never carried out.⁶⁰ We read that "divers of the poor natives or freeholders, after the loss of all their possessions there, some of them ran mad, and others died instantly of grief—and others—who on their death beds were in such a taking that they, by their earnest persuasions, caused some of their

⁵⁹ It would appear that many of the dispossessed landlords, who had gone to Dublin to complain of the treatment they had received, were shipped off as bondsmen to Virginia (Bonn: Vol. I, p. 355).

⁶⁰ In Longford 142 natives got land. But among the "natives" were included the Earl of Westmeath, who got 3,000 acres, the Earl of Kildare, and 28 others belonging to families of the Pale. (List given by Miss Hickson, *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*.)

family and friends to bring them out to have a last sight of the hills and fields they lost."

To search for flaws in title deeds became a regular profession. The Irish lands along the Shannon from Ulster to Lough Derg were all found to be vested in the King. The native inhabitants—O'Rourkes, O'Melaghlines, O'Molloys, Mac Coghlanes, O'Carrolls—were deprived of a portion of their territories. The residue was divided among them, the smaller proprietors being, as usual, deprived of all their lands. The Mac Gillapatricks, of Upper Ossory, had been one of the first clans to submit to Henry VIII, who had created the chief a baron. Since then, for nearly a century, their loyalty had been above suspicion, but this did not save them now; a title for the Crown was found against them, and they were deprived of a portion of their lands.

A special feature of these later plantations was that the native grantees were forbidden to sell or otherwise alienate their estates to any mere Irish, or to grant them longer leases than for three lives or forty-one years. This marked a farther step towards weakening the native element.

These plantations naturally excited great discontent, which, towards the end of his reign, induced James I to desist from any further plantations. But Strafford, during his viceroyalty, projected a new confiscation, more gigantic than anything which had gone before.

We have said that Perrott had made a settlement of Connaught and Clare, confirming all the inhabitants in the lands they held. Owing to subsequent disturbances, most of the proprietors had neglected to have their surrenders properly enrolled and to take out Letters Patent. However, in 1616 they had repaired this omission, and the Patent Rolls of the next few years contain page after page of grants to the Connaught landowners. But though the patents were made out, they were never properly enrolled owing to the neglect of the clerks in Chancery, though the grantees had actually paid £300 fees for having this done.

On this plea, then, a claim to all Connaught and Clare was put forward by the Crown. The jurors of Galway who refused to find a verdict were fined £4,000 a piece, and the sheriff thrown into prison, where he died. The terrified landowners gave way; and the required title to the whole province was found for the Crown. A similar fate befell the territory of Ormond, though the O'Kennedys claimed as undisturbed occupiers for nearly 300 years, and the Earls of Ormond claimed under a grant of Henry VIII.⁶¹ Strafford

⁶¹ Subsequent to the Statute of Absentees. See Prendergast:

fell before any steps were taken to carry out a plantation; and the scheme came to nothing.

But the repeated setting aside, on legal quibbles, of titles which had been looked on as perfectly good for years, was beginning to bear fruit in widespread discontent. Neither Anglo-Norman nor Gael could feel any security.⁶² The two races united in begging that sixty years' undisturbed possession of land should give a valid title against the Crown. They offered large sums of money for these and similar "Graces." Charles took the money and withheld the "Graces."

At the same time religious persecution was uniting the whole Catholic population in the bands of common suffering. The result was the great rising of 1641, followed by eleven years of merciless warfare, and ending with the conquest of the island by Cromwell.

To sum up the results of this enquiry. In Connaught and Clare the clan lands had been divided up among the clansmen, the chiefs getting the demesne lands as their private property, and in many cases chief rents in lieu of their former "cuttings and spendings." The same system had been followed in various other districts scattered throughout the island.

In the native territories which ran along the eastern bank of the Shannon, comprising Leitrim, Longford and the western portions of King's and Queen's Counties, the distribution of the lands among the clansmen had been complicated by a "plantation." The share to which each clansman was entitled under Irish custom was ascertained. Then a deduction of one-fourth or one-third, in some instances even one-half, was made for the purposes of the plantation. If after this deduction the share of an individual was less than sixty English acres he lost all, if less than a hundred he was liable to lose all; but in both cases he was, in theory, to get a lease of twenty-one years from the new owner. All sorts of fraud naturally accompanied these settlements.

In other districts, again, while the more important members of the clan secured estates, the lesser clansmen seem

"On the projected Plantation of Ormond by Chas. I." (*Trans. Kil. Arch. Soc.*, 1849-51).

⁶² The "holders of land within the English Pale" complained in 1624 that "The late plantation adjoining the English Pale, and the dispossessing thereby of many who, time out of mind, did quietly enjoy their lands, does very much affright the inhabitants of the English Pale, the rather that some of His Majesty's counsel at law in that country have said that they shall also be questioned for their lands." (*Cal. of St. Paps.*, 1624.)

to have lost all. This is especially noticeable, as I have already mentioned, in Desmond.

Then there was the case of the six Ulster counties. Here all former settlements were torn up, the whole of the land was confiscated to the Crown, and a certain number of the natives received grants, more by favour of the Crown than in accordance with any principle to be deduced from their former status.

Finally, there were cases where all the lands of a clan were given to a chief, sometimes the chief of a sept, sometimes of a clan, sometimes of a whole country. An example of this last is the grant of all Donegal to Rory O'Donnell, of a vast tract in Antrim to the head of the Scotch settlers, the Mac Donnells, and of other great districts in Down and Antrim to the chiefs of the O'Neills of Clandeboy. In some cases, as in Muskerry, the recipient of such a grant had to respect existing rights at least to a certain extent, and to make estates to the chief men of his own kindred and of the subject septs. Examples of the grant of the whole lands of a clan to a chief are the cases of Mac Donough and O'Keefe in Duhallow, O'Shaughnessy in Galway. Finally, there were probably many cases where the head of a small sept got all the lands of his kinsmen. Glenachroim is one such case, apparently there were others in the district ruled over by O'Sullivan Bere.⁶³ Everywhere we notice a certain amount of apparent caprice in the arrangements.

We find, as a final result of the action of the Tudors and Stuarts, alongside of a certain number of great landowners, a vast multitude of small proprietors. These small proprietors were most numerous west of the Shannon, where there was established something not far removed from peasant proprietorship.⁶⁴

In the districts occupied by the descendants of the Anglo-Norman invaders, too, there were innumerable small landowners—Barrys, Powers, Butlers—holding as vassals of the great Anglo-Irish lords. Most of these lords had had their estates secured by surrenders and regrants under the Com-

⁶³ In 1641 all the lands of the O'Linchighs and O'Donegans of Bere were in the hands of the chiefs of these septs (*Books of Survey and Distribution*).

⁶⁴ I have purposely left out of account here the cases (such as the Mac Auliffes, O'Mahonys and O'Donoghues) where the clan lands were held to be forfeited by the death in rebellion of the chief. And everywhere there had been confiscations of individual proprietors on the death of their owners in rebellion. These were most numerous in the Anglo-Norman districts, where it was easy to ascertain who were landowners. And I have also omitted the exceptional case of Leix and Offaly, planted under Mary.

mission of Defective Titles. The lesser proprietors, junior members of the lord's family, or descendants of those who followed the great barons at the time of the first invasion, mostly held their lands by tenures secured according to the Common Law.

Cromwell made a clean sweep of all Catholic landowners, great and small, Gael, or Old English, or later Elizabethan settlers. East of the Shannon the clearance was complete. West of it a certain number received allotments meant to give a partial compensation for what they had lost. An account of the Cromwellian confiscation and settlement of Muskerry will form the subject of the following chapter.

MAP V.



Lands granted to chiefs:—

Ulster.—Tirconnell, Inishowen, Tirowen (including Co. Derry and part of Armagh), Clonaboy, The Glens and Route, Kinelarty, Orior.

Connacht.—Kinelea (O'Shaughnessy).

Leinster.—Clanmalieri (O'Dempsey), Gavell Rannell (O'Byrne).

Munster.—MacDonough, O'Keeffe, MacCarthy of Muskerry, MacCarthy of Glanachroim, O'Donoghue of the Glens, West Corcabaskin (MacMahon).

Lands divided among the clan:—

Ulster.—Monaghan, Iveagh.

(Continued on following page.)

Connacht.—All, except lands of O'Shaughnessy.

Leinster.—O'Toole, part of O'Byrnes.

Munster.—Clare, except West Corcabaskin; Tipperary, viz.: Ormond, Ara, Ikerrin, Kilnarnagh; Limerick: O'wney, Pubblebrien; Kerry: Iraghticonnor, Desmond; Cork: Carbery, Pubbleocallaghan.

Lands confiscated under Elizabeth as being property of the chiefs:—
Lands of MacAuliffe, MacCarthy of Coshmaing, Clandonellroe, O'Donoghue Mór, O'Mahony of Kinelmeaky, O'Brien of Aherlow, O'Byrne of Shillelagh (?).

Lands divided among the clans, but settlement upset by confiscations of James I:—

Ulster.—Cavan, Fermanagh.

Connacht.—Leitrim.

Munster.—Ely O'Carroll.

Leinster.—Longford; Westmeath, lands of O'Melaghlin, MacGeoghegan; King's County, Fercal, Delvin; Queen's County, Iregan, Upper Ossory; Kilkenny, Fassadinin; Carlow, except Idrone; Wexford, northern half.

Exceptional cases—O'Connor of Offaly, O'More of Leix, planted under Philip and Mary; Idrone, granted to Carew.

N.B.—In the accompanying map the vertical lines of the shading should be completed in the small area of land above the name "O Dunne," and the O'Shaughnessy territory between Galway and Clare has been accidentally omitted—a small lozenge-shaped patch of land on the intersection of lat. 53 and long. 9. It should be shaded with **horizontal** lines.

IV.
THE
CROMWELLIAN CONFISCATION
IN MUSKERRY

I.—THE LANDS NORTH OF THE LEE

OVER thirty years ago, in the first volume of the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society*, the late Mr. Herbert Webb Gillman published a remarkable article on the succession of the Lords of Muskerry, and on their dealings with the lands of their clan.

He brought the story down to the reign of James I, leaving the later history of the lands in this barony to be dealt with at some future time.

This history is in a sense an epitome of the history of landed property over a great part of the island. It will be my endeavour in this section to complete it as regards the effects of the Cromwellian confiscations; and, with this end in view, I propose to give a brief *résumé* of the earlier history, and then to show the exact state of things as regards landed property in the barony in 1641, and again, after the Acts of Settlement (1663) and Explanation (1665), as it appears from the *Down Survey*, and from the *Books of Survey and Distribution*.

Mr. Gillman has already told how Sir Cormac Mac Teige Mac Carthy, fourteenth Lord of Muskerry, made a surrender to the Crown in 1577 of all his lands, castles, lordships, etc., and received a regrant of the same, with power to dispose of them by will. He has also told of the remarkable will of Sir Cormac Mac Teige, by which, “for conscience’ sake,” he left the lordship and lands, first to his younger brother and tanist Callaghan, and then to his nephew Cormac, son of his elder brother and predecessor, Dermod Mac Teige, the thirteenth Lord, then to Cormac’s brother Teige, and then, but not till then, to his own son and heir, Cormac Oge. In thus disposing of his property, he endeavoured to reconcile his English grant with the Irish law of succession by tanistry.

Further, Mr. Gillman has shown how Sir Cormac Mac

Teige's nephew, Cormac Mac Dermod, by a fresh surrender to the Crown and a fresh regrant, defeated his uncle's will, and deprived his cousin Cormac Oge of his right to the reversion of the Lordship and the lands.¹

These various transactions covered a considerable period, and involved certain settlements with various claimants to the Lordship and with near kinsmen of the Lords.

Sir Cormac Mac Teige had made immediate provision for his sons, Donough his eldest son by Ellen Barrett, whom he had "used" as his wife, and his heir Cormac Oge, his son by Joan Butler.

This he had done by assigning to them large estates which he had acquired, partly by Crown grants, partly by other means, during his lordship.

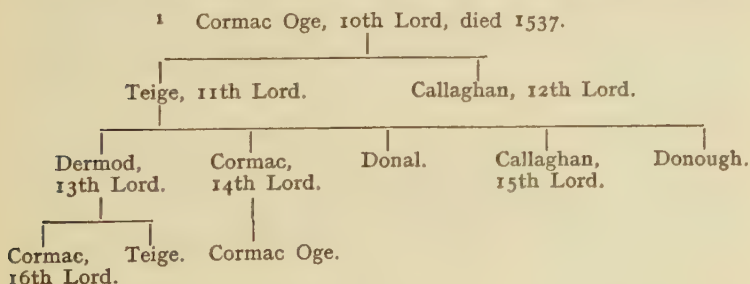
On his death his brother and tanist, Callaghan, succeeded to the Lordship under his will. But after about a year's rule, Callaghan, who seems to have been a quiet, peaceable man, was forced or induced to resign, and as compensation had the castle of Carrignamuck—from of old the residence of the tanist—together with a considerable estate assigned to him and his heirs. This property contained at least ten and a-half ploughlands.

Then Sir Cormac Mac Dermod made ample provision for his younger sons, and his son and heir, another Cormac, followed his example.

But over and above these immediate relatives of the chiefs, there were other Mac Carthys, descended from Dermod, first Lord of Muskerry, as well as the members, both chiefs and clansmen, of the subject clans.

From an allusion to one of these latter, the O'Learys, in 1588,² we learn that the Government officials were not ignorant of their claims to a share of the lands of Muskerry, and of the injustice of granting the whole territory in absolute ownership to the chiefs.

The Mac Carthy clansmen were, as we learn from the



¹ *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1588, p. 545.

account of Muskerry given in the *Carew Calendar*,³ divided into six septs holding sixty-six ploughlands.

In addition there were the extensive lands of the Mac Carthys of Drishane, stretching from the Blackwater at Drishane close to Millstreet, to the Lee at Carrigaphooka near Macroom.

Of these septs Sliocht Cormac Oge probably included the immediate family of the chiefs, the descendants of the 10th Lord, Cormac Oge, who died in 1537.

The sept of Cloghroe were descended from Eoghan, brother of Cormac Laidher; the latter was the builder, at least in their present form, of the castles of Blarney, Kilcrea and Macroom, and the monastery of Kilcrea.

This Eoghan had murdered his brother Cormac in Blarney in 1494. In consequence of this crime, his posterity had been shut out from the Lordship,⁴ but had been granted the Tuath of Cloghroe—the land between the Shournagh river and the stream flowing into it at Coachford Junction in the present parish of Matehy. Cormac Mac Teige had, by some means or other, deprived this sept of their lands. In his will he mentions the claims to Cloghroe of Fyneen Mac Dermot Mac Owen, Donough Mac Teig Mac Owen, and Donough Mac Phelimy.

Of the four other septs that of Tuath na Dromin was located between the rivers Lee and Sullane, in the present parish of Kilnamartera. The sept of Sean Choill held the parish of Kilcorney. We have no information as to the other septs.⁵

The clans subject to the Mac Carthys were, first of all, the O'Learys, who held most of Iveleary, the present parish of Inchigeela, and, secondly, the O'Mahonys, divided into three septs, Iflanluo, Clan Fyneen and Clan Conogher, who held the district east of the O'Learys and south of the River Lee, in the present parishes of Kilmichael, Kilmurry, Dunisky, and part of Moviddy.

We have already seen that the attention of the Government had been called to the fact that the O'Learys claimed to be freeholders, and that Sir Cormac Mac Dermot Mac Carthy was, notwithstanding, endeavouring to get possession of their lands.

The position of the O'Mahonys was even stronger. They had held all Muskerry south of the Lee for centuries before the English invasion, while the Mac Carthys were still a small tribe living in obscurity round Cashel.

But the O'Mahonys had in some way or other come to

³ *Car. Cal.*, 1600.

⁴ *Lambeth MSS.*

⁵ The others were "Slught Decane" and Clan Fada.

grief in Elizabeth's reign—probably through joining in the Desmond rebellion. As a result the Lords of Muskerry had managed to dispossess them of most of their lands. Only two or three O'Mahonys appear as landowners in 1641.

Then there were the inhabitants of Church lands, O'Herlihys in Ballyvourney, O'Longs in Kanaboy, O'Healihys in Donoughmore, and O'Cronins. These were in the position of freeholders towards the Church, paying the Bishop of Cork or of Cloyne small chief rents, while in temporal matters they were under the rule of the Lords of Muskerry. Their lands in the year 1600 amounted to 36 ploughlands.

Finally, the Mac Swinys, hereditary gallowglasses, had acquired some lands, and the Mac Egans, Brehons; O'Levies, surgeons; O'Dalys, "rimers"; and O'Doinins, chroniclers, had lands assigned to them estimated at 8½ ploughlands.

Such was the distribution of the land in Muskerry in the 16th century, before Elizabeth's grants had become effectual. A noticeable point is the immense extent of the demesne lands attached to the Lordship, nearly half of the whole territory.

The *Down Survey* and the *Books of Survey and Distribution* show us a different state of affairs in 1641. The O'Learys, O'Herlihys and O'Healihys had held their ground. Of the first-named there were about thirty-six, of the second, four, of the third, seven or eight proprietors. But there was only one O'Long, chief of his name; and only two or three O'Mahonys held any property.

In the west, from Millstreet to Inchigeela, several Mac Carthys held large estates. They were, no doubt, the chief men of some of the septs of the Mac Carthys given above.

But by far the greater part of the Barony belonged either to the Lord of Muskerry, or to the descendants of Dermot and Cormac Mac Teige, the 13th and 14th Lords respectively. Moreover, almost all the landowners held their lands not direct from the Crown but from the Lord of Muskerry. We are, unfortunately, on the whole, without details as to how this state of affairs had come about. No doubt the chief men had been able to resist the efforts of the Lords to "grab" the whole clan territory. In one or two cases we know that a definite agreement had been come to between the Lords and their immediate kinsmen. We may suppose that while the estates of the lesser clansmen were swallowed up, the leading men of the various septs and clans had been able—supported, no doubt, by the feeling in official circles—to force the Lords to give them estates valid by English law, of the lands which they had previously held by Irish custom.

When the rising of 1641 spread to Muskerry, the then Lord, Donough, second Viscount Muskerry, at first held aloof.⁶ But soon, goaded to action it would appear by the atrocities of St. Leger and the Protestant settlers, he threw in his lot with his countrymen.⁷

We learn incidentally that a certain number of the lesser gentry in Muskerry at first refused to follow him. They pointed out that in case of failure they would lose their estates, while their leader through his family connections—his wife was sister to the Marquis of Ormond—would probably come off scatheless. “But he promised them that he would do nothing for himself, but what they should receive the like benefit.” What these gentry had foreseen happened. He and they were all deprived of their lands by Cromwell. But while at the Restoration the Lord of Muskerry, now Earl of Clancarthy, was restored to all his former estates, those who had followed him in the rising were deprived of all rights to their property.

A clause in the Act of Settlement set aside the forfeited lands in the Baronies of Barrymore and Muskerry, for the satisfaction of the claims of the loyalist Catholics of Cork, Kinsale, Youghal. These had been deprived of their lands by Cromwell, on the ground that they had failed to show “constant good affection” to the Parliament of England. But they had never wavered in their allegiance to the King. The Act of Settlement provided that no Irish Papists were to be restored to their lands in corporate towns, except by express letters from the King. Most of the leading civic families who had large estates around these towns were so restored, although in some cases, such as that of the Sarsfields of Sarsfield’s Court (now of Dougheloyne) they were unable to recover possession for years. But the lesser

⁶ Cormac Oge Mac Cormac Mac Dermot, 17th Lord, had been made a Viscount in 1628. He died in 1640.

⁷ “I have seen such burning and killing of men, women and children, without regard of age and quality, that I expect not safety for myself, having observed innocent men and well deservers as myself so used.” (Letter from Lord Muskerry to Lord Barrymore, quoted by Mrs. Dorothea Townshend, p. 379, of her *Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork*.)

It is characteristic that Mrs. Townshend supposes that Muskerry speaks of killing, etc., done by the Irish, and says that he joined his countrymen “from sheer terror of their atrocities.”

Further on she speaks of the “massacre of Clonakilty” in terms which show that she looks on it as having been committed by the Irish: *ibid.*, p. 410.

For an authentic account of the murder in cold blood of about 120 Irish women and children by the English, written by one of the perpetrators, Ensign Jones, see *Journal of Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 1894, p. 152 of reprint of Smith’s *Cork*.

folk, owners of houses, etc., within the walls, were not so restored.

They, then, were to be compensated in Barrymore and Muskerry. Unfortunately for them, nearly all Barrymore was either owned by, or was held from the Protestant Earl of Barrymore, whose property was never confiscated; and the Earl of Clancarthy either held Muskerry in demesne, or the lesser freeholders held from him. So the compensation to the dispossessed townsmen proved nugatory. In a few cases in Muskerry we find that lands were held to be the absolute property of those who held them in 1641, and so were not "restored" to the Earl of Clancarthy, and were therefore at the disposal of the Crown. Hence we find here and there a few small estates given under the Act of Settlement to Catholic citizens of Cork, and we also find some estates set out to Cromwellians.

Two clauses in the Act of Explanation affected Muskerry, and took away from the compensation designed for the citizens of Cork. Clause CCVII recited that the King had directed that all the forfeited lands in the barony which had not been set out to soldiers or adventurers, or had not been restored to the former proprietors, the greatest part whereof were held of the estate of Donough, Earl of Clancarthy, should be granted to his son Charles, Viscount Muskerry. But Charles had been killed at sea, fighting for England against the Dutch in 1665. Therefore these lands are to be given to his son and heir, Charles James, with remainder to Earl Donough.

And Clause CCVIII provides that the said Donough, grandfather of the infant Charles James, or the now Countess, if she survive the Earl, may by way of lease for years, or by grant of a rent charge for years, or otherwise, afford such relief to the former proprietors thereof as to him or her may appear fit.⁸

Earl Donough died in 1665, and his widow utilised the

⁸ The following rough pedigree from *Diet. of National Biography* shows the relationship of the later generations:—

Cormac, 1st Viscount Muskerry, d. 1640.

Donough, 1st Earl of Clancarthy, d. 1665.

Charles, killed in naval
action, 1665.

Charles, 2nd Earl, an
infant, died 1666.

Callaghan, 3rd Earl,
d. 1676.

Donough, 4th Earl.

Justin,
Lord Mountcashel.

Robert, a Captain in British Navy,
d. 1769.

Two sons.

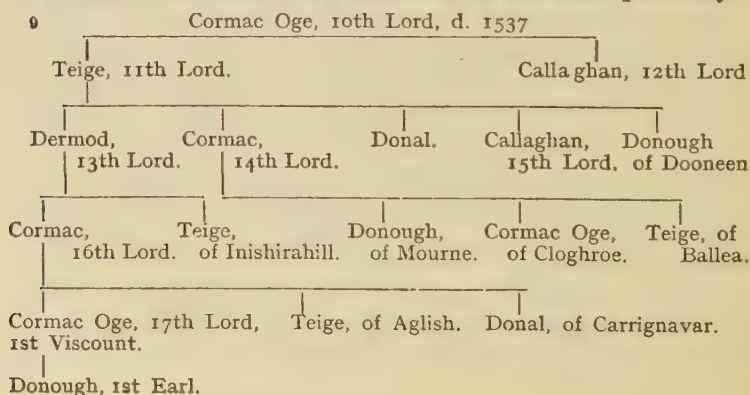
Justin, in
Neapolitan Army.

powers thus conferred on her to grant long leases to the chief kinsmen of her late husband. In other words, she restored at a nominal rent the former owners. In this way the Mac Carthys of Cloghroe, of Carrignavar, of Aglish, and of Kilnamartera, to name the chief, all recovered their former estates. Most of them, however, as well as their chief, the fourth Earl of Clancarthy, forfeited them again on account of their loyalty to James II.

Having thus far pursued the general history of the Barony, I shall endeavour to give a detailed account of the distribution of property in Muskerry in 1641, and of the changes made in this by the Cromwellian Confiscations and the Acts of Settlement and Explanation.

Two methods of treatment suggest themselves. One, possibly the more logical, is to take in order the various groups of the Mac Carthy family, and the different subject clans, and to determine the area held by each in 1641. The other—the easier to work out—is to take the Barony step by step from east to west, and to show who were the owners in each parish in 1641, and who at the compilation of the *Books of Survey and Distribution* some time after 1666.

First of all is to be remarked that the greater part of the Barony was held in 1641 by the descendants of Cormac Oge, the 10th Lord, who died in 1537. Secondly, that of the area held by his descendants, the major portion belonged to the posterity of the 13th Lord, Dermot Mac Teige. Thirdly, that of this area the greater part belonged to the 18th Lord, Donough, second Viscount Muskerry and first Earl of Clancarthy, who succeeded his father, Cormac Oge Mac Cormac Mac Dermot, in 1640, and who died in 1665. Fourthly, that East Muskerry was almost exclusively held by the descendants of Cormac Oge, the 10th Lord, probably because as each lord recovered territory from the English he was able to transmit the lands thus acquired to his own posterity.⁹



Beginning then at the extreme east, we find the lands of Carrignavar completely detached from the rest of Muskerry. These lands are now almost all in the Barony of Barrymore. The mansion of Carrignavar is still in the possession of the descendants of the owner in 1641, who are perhaps alone of all the branches of the Mac Carthy family in Co. Cork in that they still hold some of the old family lands. We learn from the State Papers that Carrignavar had been definitely acquired by Sir Cormac Mac Dermot, and that previous to the Desmond rebellion it had been in possession of Sir John Fitzgerald, brother to the unfortunate Earl Gerald,¹⁰ although Nicholas Browne says that the Mac Carthys had acquired it from the Roches.

In 1641 Cormac or Charles Mac Carthy held Carrignavar, Drumbuy, Cloughbuy or Clashebuy, Gormeloige, and Killeeneclogge, all in the parish of Dunbulloge. These lands are now included in the barony of Barrymore.¹¹

This Cormac was the son of Donal, second or third son of Sir Cormac Mac Dermot, the 16th Lord. His property was duly confiscated in consequence of the events of 1641. But as it was held from the Lord of Muskerry it fell to the latter by the provisions of the Act of Explanation. The Countess of Clancarthy, as she was empowered to do under Clause CCVIII of the Act of Explanation, made a lease of it to the representative of Cormac.¹²

In 1688 we find that Charles Mac Carthy of Carrignavar held a large property under this lease, besides some lands in fee-simple, an estate for life in others, and a reversion in fee of others.¹³ These were all forfeited for his adherence to James II. But he, or his descendants, recovered all or a

¹⁰ Sir Cormac Mac Teige in his will left all his right, title, etc., in Carrignavar to his son, Cormac Oge.

Cal. St. Paps., 1572, p. 417, Sir John FitzG., the Earl's brother, possesses Carrigge ne Veare; 1573, p. 425, the Earl claims Carrignavar, etc., now detained from him; 1587, p. 261, Carrignavar has been surveyed, together with other forfeited lands.

Morrin: *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Eliz., 1588, p. 153. Queen's letter directing grant to Sir Cormac Mac D., if on examination his title to the lands and castle of Carrignavar, late in possession of John of Desmond, should be found complete. 1589, p. 170. Grant to him of Carrignavar, amongst other lands.

¹¹ The lands in question lie between the Glashaboy stream and the south-western boundary of the parish.

¹² Or to Cormac himself, if alive. The rent was £11 a year; and the term 280 years from 1663 (*Book of Postings and Sales*).

¹³ From the *Book of Postings and Sales of the Forfeited Estates of the Adherents of King James II* it appears that Charles Mac Carthy of Carrignavar had in lease for 280 years Dromboybegg, Cloghfadda, Lissnekeagh, Rahinboy, Glassyboy, Liernaman, Dromboy more and Barnalaffane. There is a note that the last three were held "for life of Charles Mac C., senior, and reversion in fee after

great part of this property; and in the eighteenth century, after the family had conformed to the Established Church, they added to them by marriage the estate of another considerable branch of the Mac Carthy family, of whom we shall treat presently—the Mac Carthys of Cloghroe. The greater part of the combined estates was sold in the Incumbered Estates Court, and is said at one time to have produced an income of £7,000 a year.

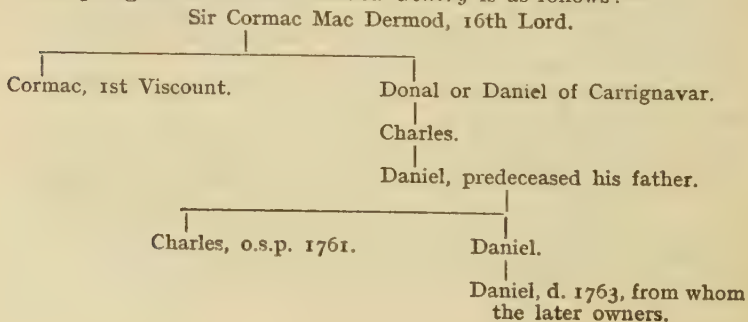
It would appear from the document dated 1744, quoted in the *Journal of the Cork Historical Society* in 1907 in the article dealing with Justin Mac Carthy, Lord Mountcashel,¹⁴ that Charles Mac Carthy regained the lands of Carrignavar by purchase. But on the preceding page of the same article it is said that Charles Mac Carthy forfeited in 1688 only a life interest, the estates being settled on his son's marriage. The whole account of this family given in the article mentioned is most confusing. The exact descent, and the manner in which they retained their property, are subjects worthy of investigation.¹⁵

three estates tail or terms of 280 years." Carrignavar was similarly held, and then are given Knockaneagh, Ballycaskine, Gortatagell and Knockendonellhassing, Lackenageragh, Gormley, Killin-gluggin, all in Barrymore, and Killevallig in the Liberties of Cork—all apparently for the life of Charles Mac C., senior. Other lands in fee-simple, or as an estate for life, or in reversion were in Barretts and Barrymore.

¹⁴ P. 171.

¹⁵ The account of this family given by Judge Trant Mac Carthy in the *Kerry Arch. Magazine* (Oct., 1915) is confusing, as the relationships between the various Donals and Charles are not made clear. The account of this family given in the Cork journal (1907, pp. 168 and following) is also most confusing, nor do the quotations from Cronnelly's *Clan Eoghan* make matters clearer. Cronnelly has a curious habit of naming the eldest son last in his tracings of pedigrees. If Donal or Daniel, founder of this branch, died in 1658, how can we reconcile the statement of the *Down Survey* that the owner of Carrignavar was Charles, and can we believe that the Cormac Mac Daniel of 1688 held all the property, whereas his father Daniel had in 1641 only a small share?

The pedigree in Burke's *Landed Gentry* is as follows:—



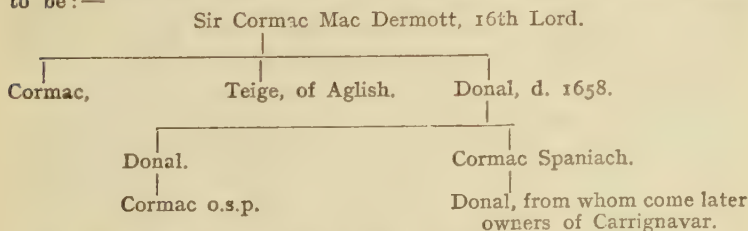
That the Mac Carthys of Carrignavar are at present the representatives of the Mac Carthys of Muskerry, and that either they, or the Sliocht Cormac of Dungle, are heads of the whole Mac Carthy clan and senior of the race of Eoghan Mór is, if not certain, at least probable. This makes it more to be regretted that some false idea of family pride has led them to alter the spelling of the name to the plebeian and totally incorrect form Mac Cartie.

In 1641 Daniel Mac Carthy held Killnelligge and Ballycashkeene, and Knocknanaigue in the parish of Whitechurch. This Daniel or Donnell was probably brother to Cormac of Carrignavar, or he may have been his son. In 1688 the two estates had been united in the hands of a Cormac or Charles, but I cannot determine what his relationship was to the Cormac and Daniel or Donnell of 1641. The lands in possession of Daniel in 1641 make up that portion of the parish of Whitechurch, now in the Barony of Barrymore, with some portion of the parish now included in the Barony of Cork.

The lands mentioned above were separated from the rest of Muskerry by a projecting bit of the Barony of Fermoy, part of the parish of Whitechurch, and by the North Liberties of Cork.¹⁶

West of these lay the two Tuaths or districts of Blarney and Cloghroe. The former, which contained one of the chief castles of Muskerry, was in 1641 entirely in the hands of the lord. How and when the Mac Carthys obtained possession of a district so close to Cork is quite uncertain; it would be a deserving subject of inquiry by some local antiquary. All that we can safely say at present is that

Cronnelly's pedigree, as far as one can make it out, would seem to be:—



But the *Down Survey* shows that in 1641 Carrignavar and by far the larger portion of the property belonged to Cormac or Charles, who therefore must have been older than Donal or Daniel, if the latter was, as seems likely, his brother. In neither pedigree does it seem easy to fit in the Charles of 1688.

¹⁶ This portion of Whitechurch between Dunbullogue and Grenagh parishes is now in the Barony of Barretts.

until the Mac Carthys obtained possession of the "vill" of Cloghphilip in the 15th century, and of the castle of Guines or Cloghroe at some uncertain date, Blarney and the adjoining district, if they belonged to them at all, were quite cut off from the rest of their lands.¹⁷

The Tuath of Blarney in 1641 comprised the Muskerry part of the parish of Garrycloyne, which in those days included the townlands of Loughane and Dawstown, east of the Shournagh; which are now in the parish of Matehy, as well as those townlands, now also in Matehy, which are within the bend of the river between Blarney Castle and Healy's Bridge station.¹⁸ The greater part of the parish of Currykippane in the Liberties of Cork also belonged to the Lord of Muskerry, and may, therefore, be included in the Tuath of Blarney.¹⁹

Separated from the Tuath of Blarney by the Shournagh was the Tuath of Cloghroe. On the south and west the little river which runs through the Muskerry golf-links and joins the Shournagh at Coachford Junction separated this district from the southern portion of the Barony of Barretts. Nowadays the whole of this district is in the parish of Matehy; in 1641 the south-eastern part was in Iniscarra, the north-western in Matehy.

The history of this territory is curious. In the prosperous days of the Anglo-Norman settlement the Barretts, a family of Welsh origin, established themselves west and north of the City of Cork in the basin of the Lee. Their lands ran

¹⁷ The following entries summarise the Elizabethan history of Blarney:—

1577. Surrender of Muskerry, etc. (including Blarney), by Sir Cormac Mc Teige (*Fiants*, 1578). Grant to Sir Cormac Mac Teige of the whole country of Muskrie, the manor of Blarney, etc. (Morrin: *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1589, p. 170). Grant to Sir Cormac Mac Dermot of Blarney, etc. Sir Cormac Mac Teige had left by his will Blarney to his wife, and after her death to his son and heir, Cormac Oge (*Cal. St. Paps.*, 1592, p. 482). Charles Mac C., "servant" of Sir W. Raleigh, in suit for Blarney with Sir Cormac Mac D. (This Charles was Cormac Oge, son and heir of Sir Cormac Mac Teige, the 14th Lord, page to Raleigh, and ancestor of the family of Cloghroe.) 1595, p. 445. Petition of Cormock Cartie that the old condition and offices past in H.M.'s behalf on the castle, town, and lands of Blarney and Tuoghneblarney may be released. 1195-6, p. 482. Cormock Mac D. Mac Carty makes suit for a new grant of the manor of Blarney.

¹⁸ The parish of Garrycloyne is passed over in the *Down Survey*, probably through the influence of Lord Broghill, who had contrived to get hold of Blarney. The Paris barony map, however, shows it.

¹⁹ In 1641 John Long had Clogheen, the Ld. of M. had the rest, viz., Killarde, Killishell and Ballinagarrane, Ballycammine, Currimroughowe, Currykippane and Ballyskimeene.

from Castlemore Barrett, whose ruined walls overlook the River Clydagh, and the modern railway a few miles south of Mallow, to the hills which separate the basin of the Lee from that of the Carrigaline river. How far their territory extended to the west is uncertain; but Castle Inch on the Lee, west of Iniscarragh Church, belonged to them. With the growth of the Mac Carthy power in the 15th century the Barretts fell on evil days. They were dispossessed of Castle Inch, and in 1488, John, son of Richard, son of Symon de Rede Bared, Lord of Clobh Phylp, granted to Eoghan, son of Thadeus, son of Cormac Mac Carthy, his "vill" of that name—the modern, Clogh-Philip.

The remains of the castle of Cloghphilip are still to be seen close to St. Ann's Hill. Further to the south-west, not very far from the Muskerry golf-links, can still be seen a rath, within the bounds of which the castle of Guines or Cloghroe once stood.²⁰ Scarcely a trace of the masonry is now left. We do not know at what date the Mac Carthys acquired this castle and the surrounding lands. From a note in a Lambeth pedigree of the Lords of Muskerry we learn that the Eoghan or Owen mentioned above murdered his brother Cormac Laider, seventh Lord of Muskerry, and that he and his posterity were on this account excluded from succession to the Lordship, but that Tuath Cloghroe was given to them. Cloghphilip and Cloghroe between them took in the whole area between the Shournagh and the small river which joins it at Coachford Junction Station. The two vills or manors, or whatever we call them, together made up Tuath Cloghroe. These lands were amongst those granted to Sir Cormac Mac Teige in 1578. By his will he divided them between his two sons, Donough and Cormac Oge, thus showing that he looked on them as his personal property, and not as in his possession merely in right of his chieftainship. But he lays down that Donough and Cormac were "reasonably to agree for some rent or other allowance with Fynyn Mac Dermot Mac Oyn, Donogh Mac Teige Mac Oyn, and Donogh Mac Phelymey during every their lives for any their challenges to any part of Cloighroo, as Stephen Water and Donal Mac Oyn Ylloighey will award."

By Sir Cormac Mac Teige's will he left that half of "Twohelochroo" which was nearest to the Blarney with other lands named, and "all other lands attained and purchased by me, and not devised by this my will to any other,"

²⁰ According to Caulfield this rath in his day had considerable traces of the later castle within its enclosure. The site was known as Shanaclogh: it is north of Cloghroe house, on higher ground. Much of the masonry described by Caulfield has now disappeared.

to his son and heir, Cormac Oge, whom he had had by his wife, Joan Butler.

To his eldest son, Donough, by Ellen Barrett, whom "he had used," but who, he asserts, then and before was the lawful wife of James Fitz Morice, he left the other half of Cloghroe, together with other lands, viz., the Pluckans²¹ and the church lands of Manister na Mona, the present Mourne Abbey.

This Donough Mac Cormac was the founder of the family known as the Masters of Mona or Mourne, whose residence was at Courtbrack. In 1641 Cormac or Charles Mac Donough held the townlands of Courtbrack, Gilleaugh, Ballyvickary and Killknock (probably the modern Kilclogh), all in the parish of Matehy, besides other lands of which we shall speak later on. He forfeited these; and in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Explanation they were granted to the infant Charles James, grandson of Donough, Earl of Clancarthy, with power to the said Earl or his Countess to make leases for years to the former proprietor, or otherwise to afford them relief. Accordingly the family of Courtbrack were restored to their former possessions.²² They passed safely through the Revolution; but, possibly owing to the profuse hospitality for which this family was renowned, they became impoverished. The last male of this house, Charles, was a Colonel in the Portuguese service, and died in 1792. His only daughter died unmarried in 1832. It would appear that this family remained Catholic to the end.

To his second son, Cormac Oge, whom he instituted his heir, Sir Cormac Mac Teige left the immediate possession of that part of Cloghroe nearest to the Blarney, his interest in the Abbey of Inislaunaght near Clonmel in Tipperary, certain lands in Carbery, his part of McWilliam's lands, all his right, title, interest and estate in Carrignavar, and in general all his private property not devised to others by the will. After the death of his mother, Joan Butler, Cormac was to have her jointure-lands of Kilbonane, both the Cloghines, and the Castle and Tuath of the Blarney. Finally, on the death of the testator's nephews, Cormac Mac

²¹ This was in the parish of Donoughmore, and in the northern part of the Barony of Barretts. In 1641 Charles Oge had East Pluckanes.

²² Under a lease for 99 years, dated Oct., 1677 (*Kerry Arch. Journal*, Oct., 1915, p. 210). Possibly not all the former lands were recovered at this time. In 1688 Charles Mac Carthy had Courtbrack, Ballyvickary, Peake, Glanballycullen, and Lackakillen *alias* Lahackaneene, paying £52 4s. 3d. English yearly to the Earl (*Book of Postings and Sales*).

Dermod and Teige Mac Dermod, who by his will were to come each in due course to the Lordship of Muskerry, in accordance with the custom of tanistry, Cormac was to inherit the whole Lordship.

But, on Sir Cormac Mac Teige's death, his able nephew, Cormac Mac Dermod, first caused Callaghan to resign the Lordship to him, and then set himself to defeat his uncle's will and to secure the Lordship for himself and his heirs. Cormac Oge was a minor, and in spite of the powerful protection of Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom he was page, he was unable to prevent his cousin from securing possession of Blarney, and from making a surrender to the Crown and obtaining a regrant of the whole Lordship in 1589.

The *Calendars of State Papers* contain frequent references to the dispute between the two Cormacs. Finally, an arrangement must have been come to. In 1641 Charles Oge, son of Cormac Oge, son of Sir Cormac Mac Teige, held half the district of Cloghroe, together with the important castle of Castlemore near Moviddy, and a large estate in that parish, with lands also in the parish of Kilbonane.

The townlands of Tuath Cloghroe held by him in 1641 can easily be identified. They are Cloghphilip, Kilnemucky (the modern Tower²³), Coolflugh, Drombolugge (the modern Dromin), and Knockacarraile (the modern Cloghroe), all in 1641 included in the Muskerry part of the parish of Iniscarra, and in Matehy parish the townlands of Gortdonoghmore and Kilenoueran²⁴ (the modern Killeen).

Charles Oge forfeited all these lands in 1641. The Cloghroe portion, being held by the Earl of Clancarthy, was "restored" to the Earl by the Act of Explanation, and leased by him or his widow to the representative of the former owner. Some of the lands of Moviddy, however, were treated as being the absolute property of Charles Oge, and were granted to two Cromwellians, Croke (hence Crookstown) and Bayly, of whom Bayly settled at Castlemore. By Bayly's will the castle and lands passed to his daughter, Ann, wife of George Rye, whose descendants succeeded to the estate in due course.²⁵

²³ Called Teawir in the grant to Sir C. Mac D.

²⁴ It was probably this Charles who in 1641 owned the townland of Ballymartin in the parish of Grenagh—the only townland in that parish which is part of Muskerry.

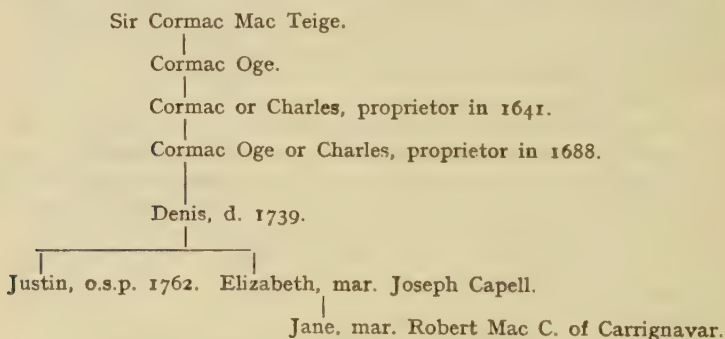
²⁵ *Journal of C. H. and A. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 241 and 242. Charles Mac C. had in 1688 Gortdonaghmore and the other lands in Tuath Cloghroe mentioned above, as well as Ballymartin, Coolecollig, Kilcorney, Glanleagh, Knockirushelig, Rathine and Kill, Knockipreaghane, Ballycurning, Guarraneamudagh, Knockanerves (*recte* Knockaneroe) and Carrigeenaleask, paying £124 17s. 9d. English to the Earl (*Book of Postings and Sales*).

The last Mac Carthy of Cloghroe died without offspring, leaving a sister married to a certain Joseph Capell, who inherited the lands of Cloghroe.²⁶ Her daughter Jane married in 1784 Robert Mac Carthy of Carrignavar, and brought him a large estate.²⁷

The Tuath of Cloghroe divided the Barony of Barretts into two portions—North Barretts, a fairly compact territory, and South Barretts, a district of most irregular shape. South Barretts cut off Cloghroe and Blarney from the rest of Muskerry. It is not clear from the *Down Survey* maps whether the townland of West Kilclogh or Ballyclogh (mod. Bunkelly), at the south-eastern angle of the parish of Donoughmore, belonged to Muskerry, in which case the two parts of Barretts were completely separated from one another, or to Barretts, in which case Cloghroe was quite cut off from the rest of Muskerry. The Paris copies of the Barony maps both of Muskerry and Barretts of the *Down Survey* assign it to Barretts.

The *Down Survey* itself assigns it to Muskerry, thus showing that the Paris maps are not *facsimiles* of the Record Office set.

²⁶ According to Judge Trant Mac Carthy the descent of the family of Cloghroe is as follows:—



But this is wrong. For it can be shown from a Chancery Bill, filed in 1688, that Cormac, owner in 1641, died without son or daughter, having in 1625 entailed his lands on his uncle, Teige of Ballea. Cormac left a sister, married to Wm. Barry, of Lislea, and their son, David Barry, claimed the lands. But Cormac, son of Teige of Ballea, was declared owner. From him come the later Mac Carthys of Cloghroe. (*Jour. C. H. and A. Soc.*, 1900, p. 137.)

²⁷ *Journal C. H. and A. S.*, 1907, p. 173. The lands were Cloghroe, Dromin, Clogphilip, Ballincourig, Rahine, Gortdonaghmore, Knockraselig, Knockaprehan and Knockanmore, Coolflugh, Killeen, Keele, Carrygeenaleask and Gurrnamhadda. Most of these can be easily identified on the Ordnance maps.

The above accounts of the three districts of Carrignavar, Blarney and Cloghroe make a complete section in my account of Muskerry in 1641.

The parish of Donoughmore forms the north-eastern angle of the barony of Muskerry. It extends also into the modern barony of Barretts, and some of its townlands were included in 1641 in the barony of South Barretts.

In Smith's time a considerable part of the parish, including a vast tract of the Boggerah Mountain, belonged to the See of Cloyne. It is probable that at one time the whole, or at least the greater part, of it had been Church property, the endowment of the church of Saint Lachteen. Such church lands, as we learn from Sir John Davies and from the Inquisitions taken in the sixteenth year of James I on the Church lands of Ulster, were usually assigned by the Bishop or other ecclesiastical²⁸ authority to a sept of laymen who cultivated the land, and were bound to look after the upkeep of the church, the stipends of the clergy, or, where the land was part of the endowment of a see, to afford a fixed number of days' entertainment in the year to the Bishop, or else fixed amounts of butter, oats, etc., or money in lieu thereof. Details as to these can be found in the printed *Calendar to the Patent Rolls* of James I.

We are told that these lands were at first free from the exactions of the temporal lords. But, according to the statements of the Irish jurors made before the Commissioners of James I, the Irish lords gradually imposed their cuttings and spendings on the Church lands within their territories. The Corbs or Erenaghs,²⁹ as the laymen occupying the lands were called, were looked on as freeholders. They could not be dispossessed by the Bishop, and if a sept died out he was bound to instal another in its place with the same duties and privileges.

In Donoughmore the O'Healihys were probably in this

²⁸ Davies says of Fermanagh: "It did not appear unto us that the Bishop had any lands in demesne, but certain mensal duties of the corbes and herinachs, neither did we find the parsons and vicars had any glebe lands at all in this country." He further says that all Church lands whatsoever are called termon lands by the Irish, and that the corbe was ever in orders. For the erenaghs he says that the founders of churches dedicated some portion of land to some saint or other whom he chose to be his patron, then he gave the land to some clerk not being in orders, and to his heirs for ever who should keep the church in repair, etc.

²⁹ The Inquisitions say that the Erenagh or Herenagh was head of a greater sept, and might have one or more Corbs under him. The head of the sept in each case succeeded by tanistry, and had a certain scope of land assigned to him; the rest of the lands were divided among the males of the sept by gavelkind.

position. Six or seven of that name are returned as proprietors in 1641. The Lord of Muskerry at the same date held Coolicky and Garraneredmond, and Teig Mac Cormac Mac Carthy had the castle and lands of Ballyvodan.³⁰

The whole parish—except lands actually in the hands of the Bishop, glebes, etc.—went at the Restoration to the Earl of Clancarthy. But though the O’Healihys lost the ownership of the soil, their stock persisted. Families named Healy or Hely are numerous in all the district round Cork, and in the city itself. And in the eighteenth century it would appear that one of this clan adopted the predominant religion, and rising in the world became the founder of the Hely-Hutchinson family, now Earls of Donoughmore.

We now come to Muskerry proper, the district north of the Lee from the Dripsey river westward to the borders of Kerry. It is remarkable that no trace is to be found in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries of the former proprietors of this territory, the O’Flynnns. The name still survives in the rural deanery of Musgrylynn, and families named O’Flynn are still numerous. But it would seem that the clan lost its independent existence not long after the Anglo-Norman invasion, and that when the Mac Carthys established their hold on Muskerry north of the Lee they did not restore the old proprietors, or possibly even dispossessed any of them who had held their ground against the de Cogans and Barretts. How far these latter penetrated into Muskerry is not easy to determine, but geographical considerations and the absence of all traces of conquest and settlement make it unlikely that the Anglo-Normans ever got any footing in the hilly country which divides the valley of the Lee from that of the Blackwater.

Immediately to the west of the parish of Donoughmore lies the large parish of Aghabulloge. South of it lie the modern parishes of Magourney and Aghinagh.

The Dripsey River and the Rylane roughly indicate the boundary of this district on the east; to the south is the Lee, to the west the Laney. In the seventeenth century portions of the lands thus marked out were in Barretts, and the parish of Magourney did not exist. The western portion of the present parish of that name was in Aghabulloge, the eastern portion was in Aglish (this part was in Barretts), or formed a separate parish, now disappeared, called Kilcolman, part of this parish being in Barretts.

In 1641 the townlands of Carrignamuck and Old Castle,³¹

³⁰ This was apparently Teige Mac Cormac of Aglish, of whom I shall speak later on.

³¹ Old Castle probably included the modern Kilcolman and

which made up the greater part of the Muskerry portion of the parish, belonged respectively to Cormac Mac Callaghan Mac Carthy and to Teig Mac Callaghan Mac Carthy. Their father, Callaghan, had been tanist of Muskerry in the days of Sir Cormac Mac Teige, and was named as his successor in the Lordship in Sir Cormac's will. But his able and unscrupulous nephew, Cormac, son of Sir Cormac's elder brother and predecessor, Dermot, forced Callaghan, who seems to have been a quiet-going man, to resign the Lordship to him. As compensation Callaghan received the castle of Castlemore for life, and that of Carrignamuck to him and his heirs for ever, to hold for the reservation of a rose or a grain of wheat by the year. Carrignamuck had been the usual residence of the tanist, and with it the ten and a half ploughlands which had formed the portion of the tanist of Muskerry were probably assigned to him.

Carrignamuck corresponded to the modern townlands of Derreen and Carrignamuck. In addition Cormac Mac Callaghan held a large tract in Aghabulloge, the townlands of Clonmoyle and Rylane, both very large, and both in 1641 apparently included under the one denomination, Clonmoyle.

The lands of Cormac Mac Callaghan and of his brother Teige both went to the Earl of Clancarthy under the Act of Explanation. But some at least of them would appear to have been leased to the representatives of the former owner, for in 1688 Old Castle and Kilcolman were held by Elizabeth Mac Carthy.³²

The northern part of Aghabulloge, with a large scope of land in the modern Magourney, round Coachford, together with the townlands of Aglish, Roovesmór and Roovesbeg, south of the Lee, belonged in 1641 to Teige Mac Cormac of Aglish. The founder of this family was the son of Sir Cormac Mac Dermot, the sixteenth Lord, and brother of Cormac, first Viscount, and of Donal, or Donnell, founder of the family of Carrignavar.³³ Round Coachford he had

Meeshal. Killgobnett and Knockinorge (mod. Knockanagark) were Protestant land in 1641, belonging to Richard Hawes.

³² According to the *Books of Survey and Distribution*, part of Old Castle went to James, Mary and Anstace Gold and Owen Silver.

³³ Cronnelly's pedigree is:—

Sir Cormac Mac Dermot.

Teig (forfeited in 1641).

Dermot "died at an advanced age."

Teige (forfeited in 1688),

Charles "of whose career very little is known."

Nadrid, Clonteadmór, Carhoo, and probably Rockgrove; in the north of the parish he held the large mountainous townland of Glaunaclough, as well as Oughtihery and Knockrour.

Peake, south and west of Clonmoyle, belonged to Charles Mac Donough, evidently the owner of Courtbrack, for his representative had it on lease from the Earl in 1688.

Coolcallig, between Peake and Carhoo, belonged in 1641 to Dermot Mac Teige Mac Carthy, of whom I shall speak later on.

The rest of the parish belonged in 1641 to the Lord of Muskerry, and the greater part of it went to the Earl of Clancarthy at the Restoration.

But James Gold got part of Clonmoyle; and "Carrooe," which, according to the *Books of Survey and Distribution*, Thomas and Edward Coppinger had held by way of a mortgage, went to Thomas Coppinger. These, we must suppose, were "innocent natives" of Cork. We have already met with James Gold, and shall meet him again.

And the representative of the Aglish family was restored by the Earl or the Countess, and at some time between the Restoration and the Revolution must have re-acquired the estate in fee simple, for the *Book of Postings and Sales* gives Teige Mac Carthy of Aglish as owner in fee simple of the lands of Aglish, Clonteadmór, Nadrid, Roovesmór, Roovesbeg, Glawnaglogh, Knocknegaurie, Knockrawes, and Oughteherrys. He lost all these for his adherence to James II, and the family of Aglish disappears from history.

The parish of Aghinagh lies south and south west of Aghabulloge. The greater part in 1641 belonged to the Lord of Muskerry; but in the great bend formed by the Lee just after its junction with the Sullane we find an interesting group of proprietors.

The castle and lands of Mashanaglass, with the townland of Aghagandy, belonged to Owen Mac Swiny. We learn from the survey of Desmond made on the death of Donnell Mac Carthy Mór, first Earl of Clancarthy, and the last who may be styled King of Desmond, that the castle and lands of Mashanaglass had been reserved by the Mac Carthy Mórs as a mark of their overlordship of Muskerry. Following the example of other branches of the Mac Carthy family, they would appear to have employed to garrison it the Mac Swinys, hereditary gallowglasses, originally from Ulster. These had come into Muskerry shortly before 1500, and, according to Carew, received for their services bonaght beg, *i.e.*, a certain rent of meat and money out of every ploughland in Muskerry, as well as a quarter of free land, *i.e.*, land free from all "Irish exactions." In Eliza-

[illegible]

Key to Numbers.

MacCARTHY'S.

1. Lord of Muskerry.
2. Cormac MacDaniel.
3. Daniel.
4. Teige MacCormac.
5. Dermot MacTeige.
6. Cormac MacDonough.
7. Cormac Oge.
8. Cormac MacCallaghan.
9. Teige MacCallaghan.
11. Joan, widow of Charles.
12. Donough Mac Owen.
13. Owen Mac Donough.
14. Donough Mac Owen of Sean Choill.
15. Owen MacDonough of Sean Choill.
- O'M. O'Mahonys.
- O'L. O'Long.
- Mac E. MacEgan.
- Mac S. MacSweeney.
- Pr. Protestant Land.
- G. Gould.

beth's day it is probable that the overlordship of Mac Carthy Mór in Muskerry had become merely nominal. However, Mashanaglass was not included either in the grant to Sir Cormac Mac Teige, nor in that to Sir Cormac Mac Dermod in 1589.

Donal Mac Owen Mac Swiny is mentioned as of Mashanaglass in 1585 and 1586. In 1600, after the death of Donnell Mac Carthy Mór, we find Mashanaglass in possession of Owen Mac Swiny, "a freeholder, to him and his heirs." Carew tells us that Owen had purchased it, but whether from the Crown, or from Ellen, daughter of Donnell Mac Carthy Mór, does not appear.

The re-grant of Muskerry to Sir Cormac Mac Dermod's son in 1619 mentions a service custom or rent out of Mashanaglass of half an eyrie of great hawks, with free ingress and egress to the Lord of Muskerry and his wife, with continuance of residence there during pleasure, together with an annual rent of £4. These may have been dues payable from of old to Mac Carthy Mór, and now granted to the Lord of Muskerry by the Crown, which on Donnell's death had taken over all dues payable to him as Mac Carthy Mór, or they may have been payable to the Lords of Muskerry even when Mashanaglass belonged to the Mac Carthy Mórs.

To the east of Mashanaglass lay the lands set apart for the Mac Egans, hereditary brehons to the Lords of Muskerry. This clan of professional judges was widely scattered through Munster, their chief home apparently being in Ormond, in Co. Tipperary. The notice of Muskerry in the *Carew Calendar* in 1600 mentions the lands set apart for the professional classes, eight and a half ploughlands in all, and names them—Mac Egans, brehons; O'Levies, surgeons; O'Dalys, rhymers; O'Donins, chroniclars. It was part of the Government policy to suppress the brehons, chroniclars, and rhymers, which was most easily done by handing their lands over to the chiefs. This fate had apparently befallen the O'Levies and the O'Donins. The O'Dalys, as we shall see, had a considerable property in 1641 in what is now counted part of Muskerry, but what was then and much later reckoned as belonging to Kerry.

In 1641 Owen Mac Egan had Killishy, Coolykerreene, and Lackyboneknock, while Boolagh Mac Egan had Coolequosane, Carrigdally, and Camne or Caume. There have been changes in the divisions of the townlands in this locality which makes it difficult to identify these,³⁴ and besides, the

³⁴ The Paris map is particularly hopeless here. It gives Coolashin as east of Mashanaglass, on the river; then Roskill where the

position on the present maps differs very much from that on those of the *Down Survey*. Coolcosane and Coolcarreen, for instance, seem to have changed their places in the *Down Survey* map; Killishy would appear to be the modern Rossnascap, and so on.

To finish this portion of Muskerry must be mentioned an entirely detached portion, now included in Barretts. This was the parish of Temple Michael, which ran in a long line south-westwards from Mourne Abbey. All the townlands mentioned in this parish belonged in 1641 to "Cormac Me Donogh Carthy." This is evidently the owner of Courtbrack, the son of the Donough to whom Sir Cormac Mac Teige had left the preceptory and lands of Mourne. From this the posterity of Donough took the name of "Masters of Mourne." His son sold the actual site of Mourne and the adjoining lands, but we must suppose that he retained the portion mentioned above.³⁵ The *Down Survey* marks them as in Muskerry, because, as it tells us, whatever was under the Lords of Muskerry was included in the barony of that name.

The names given are Ballyknockane, Garrynageeragh, Glanballyculleene, Killcoane, Laharkaneene. These seem now all to form part of Mourne Abbey parish. "Clonneballycullen" and "Lahackaneen" were held in 1688 by Cormac or Charles of Courtbrack, grandson of the owner in 1641. From the *Books of Survey and Distribution* it appears that James, Mary and Anstance Gold got a good deal of this parish at the Restoration. The Golds or Goulds were an old burgher family of Cork, and probably, as I have already said, got these lands as Innocent Papists in lieu of property within the city. A certain Owen Silver also got a small assignment.

West of the river Laney we come on a new set of proprietors. The six parishes—Kilcorney, Drishane, Clondrohid, Macroon, Ballyvourney and Kilnamartera—which make up the remainder of the original Muskerry, were

modern Coolcosane is; north of these Couilholini, north of this Cormeknock, east of this Carrigoles, and finally Camne in the angle between this and the Lee. It omits Ummera altogether, and so makes Mashanaglass extend to the Laney. The parish map of the *Down Survey* is clearer. To the east of Mashanaglass it has Killishy on the river; north of this Lackyboneknock, north of this Coolquosane. Coolykerreene is the angle east of Killishy, and just touches Came. Ballydaly is north of this and does not touch the river. To the east is Carrigadrohid, and to the north Curraghanerley and Ummera.

³⁵ *J. C. H. and A. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 200,

largely held in 1641 by owners not closely connected with the ruling house.

Kilcorney is a small and to a large extent a hilly parish on the north side of the Boggerah mountains. West of it lies the large parish of Drishane, extending to the Kerry border. It also is hilly, and the streams draining it flow into the Blackwater. Even at the present day this district is one of the least known parts of Ireland.

In 1641 there were three proprietors in Kilcorney—Donough Mac Owen Mac Carthy, Owen Mac Donough Mac Carthy, and James Oge Lombard.

William Lombard recovered the Lombard lands at the Restoration; the property of the two others went to the Lord of Muskerry. The Lombard property lay in the centre of the parish, and is called Shanakille³⁶ in the *Down Survey*.

Donough Mac Owen's land was called Gortiglogh, and on it was a castle. Owen Mac Donough had Kilcorney and Glarinelegh.³⁷

These are the only names given for this parish, but the modern maps show fifteen or sixteen townlands.

An inquisition of the 21st of Jas. I says that Donoldus Mc Phelime McCarthy of Shanikill held Shanikill, Downnoyr, Killine, and Lishmephelime in Muskerry, one and a-half ploughlands. In 1606 he gave these lands to his natural son Owene, and failing him to his second son Donatus. Owene in 1623 enfeoffed Jacobus Lambart of Cork City.

This explains the Lombard acquisition of land in this parish. Of the lands named, Shanakill, Killeen and Donour can be found on the Ordnance map. They extend from the junction of the Owenbaun and the Ratheool river to the mountains which form the southern limit of the parish. This agrees with the *Down Survey* map, which shows that James Lombard's lands divided those of Donough Mac Owen from those of Owen Mac Donough.

Donough Mac Owen's lands were on the eastern, Owen Mac Donough's on the western border.³⁸

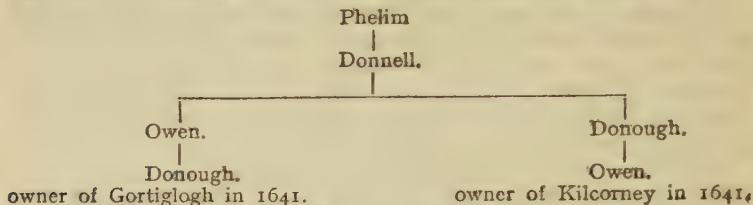
It seems clear that we have here the sept of "Shanekillie" (Sean Choill), one of the six septs of the Mac Carthys in Muskerry, descendants of Donnell, the fifth lord, who were set aside "because he and his children were not men of stirring spirits, but given to ease." They were dis-

³⁶ Modern Shanakill.

³⁷ Apparently the modern Glenleigh: the Paris map gives Glanleagh, and has Gortgullagh instead of Gortiglogh.

³⁸ Charles Mac Carthy was allowed a lease of 99 years of Gortnaclogh in Kilcorney, 1,089 acres (*Bk. of Postings and Sales*).

abled from being Lords, but the lands of Shanekillye were allotted to them.³⁹ If this is so the descents would be—



We come next to Drishane parish.

We learn from Nicholas Brown that about "three descents hence the right heir, which is Tege McOwen of Twoghogeas, was put out of his inheritance"; and further that the Lord of Twoghogee doth owe no chiefrty to the Lord of Muskerry on this account. Here the family of Drishane are alluded to. The pedigrees derive them from Dermod Mac Teige, brother of Cormac Laider and of Owen, the founder of the sept of Cloghroe. As in 1597, when Nicholas Brown wrote, the latter sept had apparently been deprived of all their lands, and as we know that the Lords of Drishane paid no chiefrty to the Lords of Muskerry, I am led to make the above identification,⁴⁰ especially as Teige Mac Owen of Drishane is often mentioned about this time.

In 1641 the castle of Drishane belonged to Donough Mac Owen. He held, besides, the townlands of Lackabane, Drominakilla, Coomlegane, Liscahane, and Tullig.⁴¹ From the *Down Survey* map it appears that the south-eastern angle of the parish, the modern Garraneduff, Tooreenbane, Lackdotia, and Mushera formed part of his estate. His lands thus ran from the little river Finnow, which joins the Blackwater close to Drishane castle, to the parish of Kilcorney, excluding, however, the north-eastern portion of the parish of Drishane.

He held, in addition, a very large estate in the parish of Clondrohid, of which I shall speak later on.

Owen Mac Donough held in Drishane the townlands of Cloghboola Mór and Cloghboola Beg. From the maps it appears that his property reached to the northern boundary of Clondrohid, thus including the modern townlands of Carrigagoleen and Knocknatulla.⁴² From the way in which

³⁹ *Lambeth MSS.*, Vol. 635, p. 154.

⁴⁰ *Car. Cal.*, 1600, p. 512.

⁴¹ These names are variously spelled, thus Lisrahane or Liskahane for Liscahane, Larkybane or Lackanhan for Lackabane.

⁴² Owen Mac Teige and Donough Mac Teige are mentioned as of "Dressa" in 1611 (*Car. Cal.*, p. 117). They had four brothers (*Lambeth MSS.*).

the properties of Donough Mac Owen and Owen Mac Donough are intermingled, it is plain that we have here the partition among two sons or other near kinsmen of what was once one estate. As a matter of fact, Donough Mac Owen and Owen Mac Donough were first cousins.⁴³

There were five other Mac Carthys proprietors in Drishane. Downeen or Dooneen belonged to "Dermod Mac Donogh." From the maps it took in the triangle between the Blackwater, the Finnow, and that curious projecting bit of Duhallow which runs into this parish south of the Blackwater. Thus the modern townland of Liscreagh was included in it. Sir Cormac Mac Teige had left the castle of Downyne and the lands thereof to his natural brother "Donoghe." This is apparently Dooneen, and the proprietor in 1641 was almost certainly a grandson of this Donough.⁴⁴

The townland of Drishanebeg formed the north-east angle of the parish between the Blackwater and Kilcorney. It belonged in 1641 to Teig Mac Phelim. He also had Garraneskerny in Clondrohid.⁴⁵

In Drishanebeg the modern townlands of Ballinkeen and Killowen appear to have been included.

Coolnagillagh, or Curreenagullagh (*D. S.* map with a K), as it is given in the *Books of Survey and Distribution* and in the *Down Survey* text, was south of Drishane Beg, and belonged in 1641 to Charles Mac Callaghan. In it may have been included the modern Coole and Cooleenarea, or they may have been included in some of the townlands belonging to Donough Mac Owen. The same Charles Mac Callaghan also owned Glaraghbeg, or Claraghbeg, a long and very narrow strip running from Kilmeedy to the Blackwater. To the east it had the projecting bit of Duhallow already spoken of; to the west a projecting bit of

⁴³ Cloghboolybeg, Tulligg and Glauntane were held in 1688 on a lease for thirty-one years by Donough Mac C.

⁴⁴ An Inquisition, 22nd of Jas. I, states that Donatus Oge Mac C. of Downyne died in 1620. He held Downyne, with Dromerie, Lyshcreagh and Clockallymory, 1½ pl. lds., and Cahirrow or Caherow, 2 pl. lds. He mortgaged the latter to Edmond FitzWilliam Gould. Then John Coppinger obtained it. Coppinger also obtained Downyne on mortgage.

The son and heir of Donatus is said to be Florence or Fynyne.

An Inquisition of 1639 mentions Dermod Mac Donogh Oge Carthy of Downyne. He is obviously the proprietor of 1641. In this Inquisition Callaghan Mac Donogh C. of Killenylkahirrow or Kahirrow is mentioned. In 1688 Duneeny and Dromree in the parish of Drishane were held by Denis Mac C. for 99 years from 1675,

⁴⁵ Modern Garraneicarney.

Kerry, the townland of Ballydaly, belonging to the bardic family of O'Daly.⁴⁶

This Charles Mac Callaghan is mentioned separately from the Cormac Mac Callaghan of Carrignamuck in the index of proprietors' names in the *Down Survey*. The Mac Carthys of Muskerry, owing to their close connection with the Government, had begun very rapidly to anglicise their names. Thus we find Donal and Daniel, Cormac and Charles used as equivalents. Callaghan, too, seems then, or at a little later period, to have been transformed beyond recognition into Charles. This leads to confusion. But the inquisition cited in the last note makes it plain that the Callaghan here referred to was son of Teig Mac Owen of Drishane.

Charles Mac Callaghan also had Maulenagrowgh and Curreleigh in Clondrohid. In 1688 the former was held on lease by Teig Mac Cormack, who may have been a son of the former owner.

Kilmeedy, with its castle, just south of the projecting bit of Duhallow, belonged in 1641 to Charles Mac Donogh.⁴⁷ The map shows a long narrow projection of this townland just touching the modern border of Kerry. This seems to correspond to the modern Adrivale.

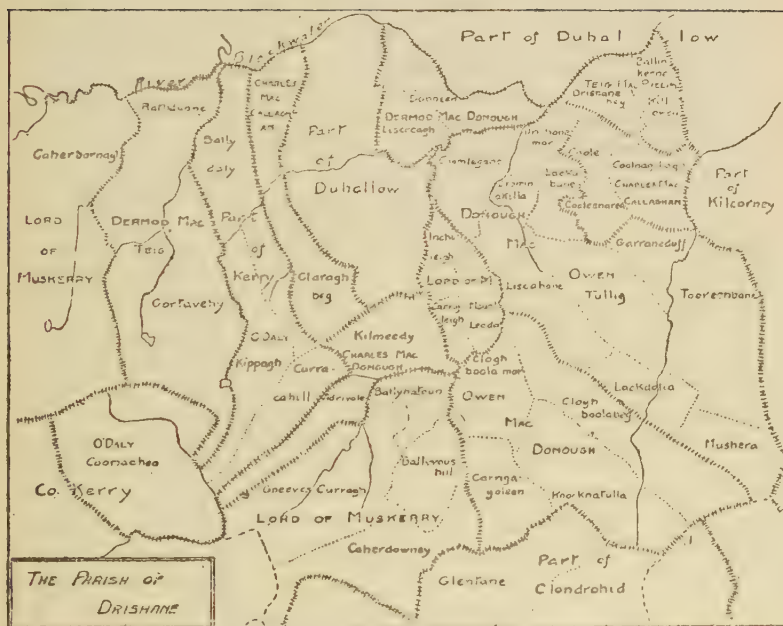
West of Kilmeedy and Claraghbeg ran a projecting bit of Kerry, quite cutting off the extreme western townlands of the parish from the rest of Muskerry. This curiously shaped strip seems to have taken in the modern Kippagh and Curracahill as well as Ballydaly.⁴⁸ It belonged, as I have said, to the O'Dalys, hereditary bards to Mac Carthy Mór. To them also belonged the Kerry parish of Noghaival Daly. These two districts, together with an isolated bit in Duhallow, made up the "East Fractions" of the Kerry

⁴⁶ In Claraghbeg were included the modern Dereen, Tober, and Coolnanarney. An Inquisition, 22nd James I, sets out that Thadeus Mac Owen C. of Drishane settled Claraghbeg and Cwilnenarny on his son Callaghan Mac Teige and his heirs, failing them on Phelim Mac T. and his heirs, and so on to Dermittus Mac T., Donatus Mac T., Carolus or Cormock Mac T., and finally on Thadeus' eldest son, Owen.

⁴⁷ An Inquisition of 1638 gives Donnogh Mc Teige of Kilmeedy and Curleigh, and his son Cormac, and says that Donough Mac Owen of Drishane claimed the premises. It is not easy to place this Donough Mac Teige in the pedigree.

⁴⁸ The Paris map shows Corenahill, but places it south-east of Kilmeedy, whereas Curracahill is north-west of Adrivale, and west of Kilmeedy. It is not shown in the parish map of the *Down Survey*, but we find Cureintaghill (*Bks. of S. and D.*) Cureintaghill (*D. S. text*) with reference number 237. On the *D. S.* map this number is Curemeagh, and is placed south-east of Kilmeedy.

MAP VII.



barony of Magunihy. To the O'Dalys also belonged the townland of Comacheo at the head of Glenflesk.

West of Ballydaly the townland of Gortavehy ran from the crest of the mountain which bounds Glenflesk on the north down to the Blackwater. It thus took in the modern Rathduane.⁴⁹ It belonged in 1641 to Dermod Mac Teige, apparently one of the six sons of Teige Mac Owen of Drishane.

One difficulty, however, is in the way of this supposition, namely, that the other sons were dead in 1641, as in every case it is their sons who appear in the *Down Survey*.

The present family of Mac Cartie of Headford were at one time seated at Rathduane, part, as I have said, of the estate of Gortavehy. As Donogh Mac Cormac Carthy, the ancestor of this family, held Gortavehy, Tuorbony and Rathduane in 1687, one would naturally suppose that, as was so often the case with the holders of lands in 1688, he was the representative of the proprietor of 1641. If so, we should have to suppose that Dermod of 1641 had a son Cormac, who was father to Donogh of 1688.⁵⁰

But O'Hart gives a totally different account. According to him, Eoghan, brother of Cormac Laidher and of Dermod of Drishane, was the ancestor of the family of Rathduane. This is hard to believe. We know from the *Lambeth MSS.* that Eoghan was the founder of the sept of Cloghroe, and from the will of Sir Cormac Mac Teige that the representatives of the sept about 1583 were Fynyn Mac Dermod Mac Owen, Donough Mac Teige Mac Owen, and Donough Mac Phelim, and further that in some way or other they had been dispossessed of the lands of Cloghroe. It seems impossible to fit in the Dermod Mac Teig of 1641 into this pedigree, or to account for any of the sept of Cloghroe obtaining lands in Drishane.⁵¹

⁴⁹ And also Teorboney and Knockagallane.

⁵⁰ And in this case the descent would be:—

Owen of Drishane.

|

Teige of Drishane.

|

Dermod, proprietor in 1641.

|

Cormac.

|

Donough, in possession 1688.

⁵¹ The Donough Mac Cormac of Cloghphilip in 1600 is of course the son of Sir Cormac Mac Teige, by Ellen Barrett, and had nothing to do with the sept of Cloghroe. There seems no reason for connecting him with Rathduane, etc., as Judge Trant Mac Carthy does.

The extreme west of the parish, the lands of Caherbar-nagh, belonged to the Lord of Muskerry. He also had Drominiscanlan,⁵² Loghlieagh and Curemeagh, if this is the same as Curentaghill.

We find in the modern maps Dromascoolane bridge marked on the little stream which divides Mount Leader from Liscahane and Coomlegane. The townland of Drominscanlan seems then to correspond with the modern Mount Leader, Carrigleigh and Inchileigh, lying between Donough Mac Owen's lands and Kilmeedy.

South and south-east of Kilmeedy and west of Owen Mac Donough's lands lay Loghlieagh and Curemeagh. The modern Ballyvovushill, Ballynatoun, Curragh, Caherdowney, and probably Gneeves represent the older denominations.⁵³

Under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation the whole of this parish went to the Earl of Clancarthy. In 1688 we find Donough Mac Carthy in possession of Drishane, Carrigaphooka, and many other denominations which had belonged in 1641 to Donough Mac Owen. It is curious that none of our printed sources of information give any reliable account as to the later fortunes of the family of Drishane.

Donough was allowed a lease of certain lands for 99 years, dating from 1681; in some of these his name is associated with Thomas Wallis. Of other lands Donough was allowed a lease for 31 years. Wallis was allowed a lease of others. He was probably the ancestor of the Wallis family who until recently owned Drishane.

A great part of the parishes of Drishane and Clondrohid was let in 1688 to various new men, some Irish followers of the Lords of Muskerry, others English Protestants. For instance, John Donnellan held Drishanebeg, Coomlegane, and Garraneikearney. O'Riordans held many denominations.⁵⁴ Other lands were occupied by persons with names such as Smith, Williams, Hall. The *Book of Postings and Sales* gives full lists for most of the lands both in this parish and in the whole barony.

South of Drishane is the large parish of Clondrohid. Its northern boundary is the limit between the watershed of the Lee and that of the Blackwater. The Laney bounds it on the east, the Fooherish and its tributaries drain the

⁵² Druminskawnlane (*D. S.* and *Books of S. and D.*).

⁵³ The Paris map shows Corencahill, where the modern Gneeves and Curragh are. There is no such name on the map in *Down Survey*, but see reference to Curemeagh.

⁵⁴ The O'Riordans were "followers" of the Lords of Muskerry in the sixteenth century.

centre and west. To the south it reaches the Sullane, and some of its townlands lie south of this river. The whole district between the Laney and the Fooherish belonged in 1641 to the Lord of Muskerry, with the exception of Maulnahornaght in the extreme north-east, and Coolenidane and Banemore in the east. These last two ran along the Laney from the present Hanover Hall northward to the edge of a detached portion of the parish of Maeroom. All three belonged to Donough Mac Owen of Drishane.

At the head waters of the Fooherish Donough Mac Owen also held Glauntains, as the *Down Survey* calls it, Glaunkins as the *Books of Survey and Distribution* call it—the modern Glantane. On the Sullane he had the romantically situated castle of Carrigaphooka. From this northward he held a great tract with the Fooherish as its eastern boundary. His lands also spread north-west along the northern bank of the Finnow river and the eastern border of Ballyvourney parish.⁵⁵ The extent of Donough Mac Owen's lands easily made him the most important man in Muskerry after the Lord.

Had Muskerry not been brought under English laws in the time of Elizabeth, it is probable that the family of Drishane would ultimately have succeeded in freeing themselves from all dependence on the ruling house, and have set up as an independent sept, subject only to the overlord of the whole clan, Mac Carthy Mór. It is in ways such as this that so many of the Irish clans split up into more and more fragments during the fifteenth century, to the ultimate ruin of the nation as a whole.

A son or brother of a chief secured the lordship, or sometimes the landlordship, of a district, either as compensation for being excluded from the succession or for some other reason. He might be freed from most of the imposts payable to the chief, sometimes merely being bound to follow him in war. As his descendants increased in numbers and became farther removed from the parent stock they would aim more and more at independence; and if

⁵⁵ The townlands were Carrigaphooka (now split up into several townlands), Gortnalicky, Caherkeegan, Clashmaguire (part of Lackmefy), Kilgobnet, Bawnatanaknock, Liscarrigane (both included in Drohideen in Paris map), Lactify (Lackemcfey *D. S.*, omitted in Paris map), Kilmountain, Cabragh (Coolemunelan and Cabragh of Paris map, Culenumelans and Cabragh of *D. S.* map, Culenumelans and Cabaragh, or possibly Culenumelans of *Bks. of S. and D.*).

A lease of Cabragh and Coolmountain for thirty-one years from 1675 was allowed to Murtough Mac Donough Carthy by the Williamite Commissioners.

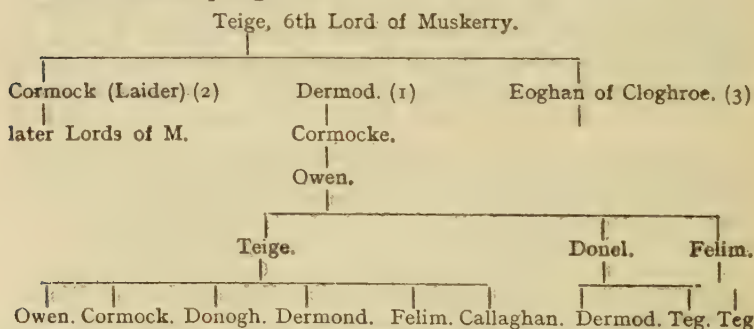
their territory was large, and they could extend it by conquest, they frequently obtained this object. In this way we must explain the origin of the separate chieftainships of the O'Sullivans; in this way, too, that of the great offshoots of the Mac Carthy house—Mac Fineen, Mac Carthy of Cosh Maing, Mac Donough of Duhallow, and the Lords of Muskerry themselves.

It is remarkable that in spite of the importance of this family we know very little about their exact descent. The printed accounts, such as that given by Judge Trant Mac Carthy in the *Kerry Archæological Magazine*, cannot be reconciled with the *Calendars of State Papers*, the *Down Survey*, and other records.

A manuscript pedigree of Lambeth gives as the founder of the family of Drishane, Dermod, son of Teige, the 6th Lord, and brother of Cormac Laider and of Eoghan, founder of the sept of Cloghroe.⁵⁶ Eoghan and his posterity were set aside from the succession for having murdered Cormac Laider. A detailed pedigree in *Lambeth MSS.*, Vol. 635, says Dermod was the eldest son, and was slain in his father's lifetime. It gives his son Cormocke as ninth Lord, and says he was expelled by his cousin Cormocke Oge, who succeeded as tenth Lord. This would account for Nicholas Brown's remarks about the setting aside of the "right heir," and about the Lord of Twoghogee, Teige McOwen, owing no chiefry to the Lord of Muskerry. At any rate, only one of Dermod's posterity succeeded to the Lordship.

The family of Drishane are mentioned from time to time in the records of the 16th century. Teige Mac Owen, to free himself from all dependence on the Lord of Muskerry, obtained in 1593 a royal letter directing that a surrender

• The Lambeth pedigree is:—

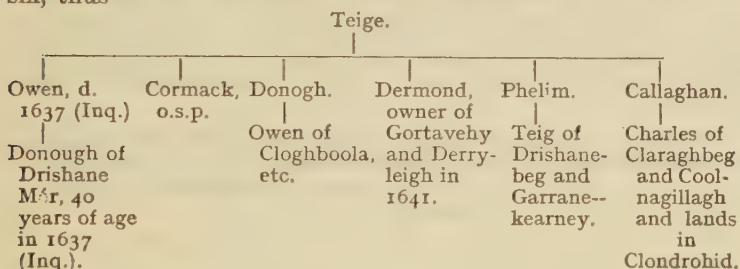


From Morrin we learn that Owen, grandson of Dermod, was dead before 1593, and from the *Car. Cal.* that Teig was dead before 1600 (p. 203, 1596, and p. 512, 1600).

of his lands should be accepted, and a re-grant made to him.⁵⁷ His sons are mentioned in 1596 as notorious malefactors, except Owen.⁵⁸

This Owen guided the English forces in a surprise attack which they made on Tirrell, whom O'Neill had left in Munster to aid Donnell O'Sullivan Bere and the rest of the insurgent Irish after the battle of Kinsale. He and his brothers were the first to fall on the retreating forces of O'Sullivan Bere on their long and desperate march from the mountains of Bere to O'Rourke's castle in Leitrim.⁵⁹

Four sons of Teige are mentioned in a fiant of 1602-3. The Lambeth pedigree gives the names of two more. The owners in 1641 may be identified as sons of some of these six, thus—



The map of the parishes of Drishane and Clondrohid thus gives an interesting example of the division of an estate between all the sons, instead of all going to the eldest son, as was the English rule.⁶⁰

The portion of Donough Mac Owen's property west of the Fooherish was cut into on the north by Derryleigh, which belonged to Dermot Mac Teig.⁶¹ This townland is omitted

⁵⁷ Morrin, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 254. It does not appear whether such a regrant was actually made.

⁵⁸ *Car. Cal.*

⁵⁹ *Pacata Hibernia*.

⁶⁰ Judge Trant MacCarthy derives the MacCarthy O'Leary family of Coomlegane from Dermot of Carhue and Dooneen, who was, he says, a son of Donough who forfeited Drishane in 1641. But he makes this Donough to be a son of Donough and grandson of another Donough, which is quite at variance with the *Down Survey*, the *Fiant*s, etc. There was certainly a Dermot Mac Donough of Dooneen in 1641, but there is nothing to show that he was a son of Donough of Drishane. The inquisitions make it almost certain that he was the grandson of Sir Cormac Mac Teige's natural brother Donough. Denis Mac C. held Dooneen on lease in 1688 (*Book of Postings and Sale*).

⁶¹ Johanna MacCarthy held Derryleigh in 1688. The Lambeth pedigree gives two Teiges, nephews of Teig Mac Owen, one of these

in the Paris map, though given in the *Down Survey* parish map. North of it lay Curraleigh, belonging to Charles Mac Callaghan, who also held Maulnagrough to the north-east. South of Maulnagrough and east of Curraleigh the Lord of Muskerry had Gortnagishy and Carrigonirtane, in the angle made by the Fooherish near Carriganimmy.⁶² North of Curraleigh and west of Maulnagrough the large townland of Garraneycarney belonged to Teig Mac Phelim, probably, as I have said, the owner of Drishanebeg.⁶³

Glendav and Laba Dermody at the north-west angle of the parish, and the townlands west of Carrigaphooka between the Finnow and the Sullane, belonged to the Lord of Muskerry.

Clondrohid also includes certain townlands south of the Sullane. Inquisitions of the time of James I. and Charles I. seem to show that these lands originally formed part of the district of Tuath na Dromin, of which I shall speak presently.

Dromony, the modern Dromonig, belonged in 1641 to Nicholas Skiddy. The modern Dromagarry is not mentioned in the *Down Survey*, but from various Inquisitions it appears to have been a part of Dromonig.⁶⁴

West of it were Inchinorrig, modern Inchinahoury, and Prohusbeg, both belonging to Donough Mac Teige, and Prohusmore to Owen Mac Donough. The modern maps do not distinguish between Prohusmore and Prohusbeg.

Owen Mac Donough may be the Owen who held Cloghboola and other lands, although it is possible that he may have been the son of either of the two other Donoughs mentioned

may have been the father of the owner of Derryleigh, or he may have been the owner of Gortavehy. Teig MacCormac was tenant of Maulnagrogh in 1688.

⁶² Garragishagh and Carriganculytane of Paris Map.

⁶³ Garraneskerny of Paris Map. Garranikerney of *Bk. of S. and D.* and of *D. S.* Map and text.

⁶⁴ From an Inquisition of 1625 we learn that Donoghe MacC. of Dromemonie held Dromemonie, Dromgarrie, Pruherusbegge, Caherdaghine, Clonetikertine and Inishbrickane. He died in 1605. His son Dermot mortgaged Dromemonie to Donogh McDermot in Towry, and Dromgarry to Ptk. Sarsfield. Dues to the lords of Muskerry are mentioned, and 13/4 yearly to Fynine MacDermot Oge MacCarthy (of Dundareirk). Then we find Nicholas Skiddy seized of Cahirdagh and Cloonikeartin in which he enfeofed William Greatrix apparently about 1632, and also Dromony and Dromgarry. Nicholas died in May, 1640; George is his son and heir, and aged 15 in 1640. Patrick Sarsfield claims Dromgarry.

In 1688 Edmond Gould owned Dromony, Dromgarry, Prohusbeg, and Inchibricane, paying a chief rent of £7 to the Earl. Inchibricane had been mortgaged by Dermot, son of Donough, to David Gould.

MAP VIII.



in the Inquisition of 1625. As for Donough Mac Teig the Lambeth pedigree gives two Teiges nephews of Teig Mac Owen of Drishane, one of whom may have been Donough's father.

Finally Candrum, in an angle between the Sullane and the parishes of Ballyvourney and Kilnamartera, belonged to the Lord of Muskerry.⁶⁵

At the Restoration George Skiddy recovered Dromonig, and got, in addition, the lands of Prohusbeg, no doubt as "reprisals" for lands he had lost in Cork City.

The rest of the parish went to the Earl of Clancarthy.

The entire parish of Maerroom, including the three detached portions on the borders of Clondrohid and Kilcorney, belonged to the Lord of Muskerry.

West of Clondrohid was the extensive parish of Ballyvourney. The eastern townlands belonged to the Lord of Muskerry. The rest was held in 1641 by the O'Herlihys, a name sometimes now written O'Hurley.⁶⁶ Their lands appear originally to have been church lands, the endowment apparently of Saint Gobnata, traditions of whom are attached to many localities both in this parish and Clondrohid. Four O'Herlihys held lands here in 1641, one having 10,000 acres, according to Petty's measurements, about 20,000 English acres. Their lands were apparently set out under Cromwell to John Colthurst, for he figures as the proprietor after the Restoration.⁶⁷ It is curious that he has after his name the mark W, which is the usual symbol in the *Book of Survey and Distribution* for "innocent Papist," which he most certainly was not. Eleven ploughlands in this parish paid £1 each chief rent to the Lord of Muskerry.

South of Clondrohid and south and east of Ballyvourney lies the parish of Kilnamartera. It occupies a long narrow ridge between the valleys of the Sullane and the Lee, and corresponds on the whole to the old division called Tuath na Dromin. We learn from the Lambeth pedigree that Felim, fourth Lord of Muskerry, murdered his nephew Cormac, son of Teige, the second Lord of Muskerry, and

⁶⁵ Nicholas Skiddy seems to have had Candrum in 1632; he enfeoffed William Gratrakes, who enfeoffed the Lord of M. East of Candrum the Lord of M. had Incheifanisky and Inchenorig; this latter apparently different from Inchinorigg, Donough MacTeig's land.

⁶⁶ This name properly belongs to the family who were seated at Knocklong, Co. Limerick. There were other O'Hurleys in Carbery.

⁶⁷ The lands of "Rahannagh" which in 1641 belonged to the Lord of M. "by way of mortgage from Wm. Gratrix" went to Jas. Baldwin W.

presumably his tanist, and that for this crime he and his posterity were disenabled to be lords, but Tuath na Dromin was given to them.

In 1600 the castle of Dundareirke in the eastern portion of this district belonged to Fynin Mac Donell Oge, evidently the head of this sept. In 1641 the castle, with all the eastern townlands of the parish, belonged to Daniel Mac Dermod Carthy, great-grandson of the previous owner, as appears from various Inquisitions.⁶⁸ He also had Knocksaharn in the centre of the parish, called Knockfarehan in the Paris map, and Knockshanheren in the *Down Survey* map and in *Books of Survey and Distribution*, together with Killin-craneroge (*D. S.* map and *Bk. of S. and D.*), or Knocksan-rorge (Paris map), the modern Kilmakeroge, probably including the modern Gortanadan also. Besides this, in the extreme south-west of the parish he had Dirragh, the modern Derragh, apparently with Lackbeg and Lackmore.

Teige Mac Daniel Oge Carthy had Durryfinneen, Gortinbinny and Dromleigh also in the west of the parish, just north of Derragh, etc., and Caherkerreen in the middle of the parish just south of Prohus.⁶⁹ The rest of the parish belonged to the Lord of Muskerry.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ From these Inquisitions we find:—
Donnell Oge of Dundareirk, d. 1571.

Fynyne MacD. Oge, d. 1637.

Daniel, predeceased his father, but alive in 1635.

Owen.

Dermod, heir to Fynyne MacD. Oge, aged 20 in 1638.

⁶⁹ He was probably an uncle of Daniel McDermod, or he may even have been a brother of the owner of Dundareirk in 1600. The townlands owned by him can be easily identified on the Ordnance Maps.

⁷⁰ The lands belonging to the Lord of Muskerry were Cloontycarthy, Cooleskedigane, Coolyverryhy, Gortinmeale (the mod. Reenan-aneree, Cloheena, and Gortanimill, appear to correspond to these), Lisboy, South Cahirdagh, Upper Ballyvoig. Lower Ballyvoig belonged to Daniel MacDermod. The modern maps do not distinguish the two Ballyvoigs, possibly Upper B. was the modern Derrinlinghen, South Cahirdagh was probably the modern Cools or Caherdaha. Caherdaghin and Clontekertine appear first as lands of Donoghe MacC. of Dromemony, then they passed to N. Skiddy, then to Wm. Greatrix, or Gratrakes, then to Lord of M. (Inquisitions).

An Inquisition of the 12th of Jas. I (Vol. 7, *R.I.A.*) finds that Dermotus MacDowell Oge Carthy of Cloghkinagh, Coolekeadigan, Inshinegapple, Gortnimeale, Inshindowrigg, 2 pl. lds. in all, was slain in rebellion in 1601. His lands paid 15 cows and 2 sheep of annual rent to the Lord of Muskerry; two cows to help to marry the Lord's daughter; the labour of four oxen and four horses on everyday from May 1st to the last day of July; and, when the Lords build a castle or stone structure, three parts of a "faber lignarior" and three parts of a "faber lapidarioru" for the same period.

We have here an interesting example of how the lesser clansmen in Muskerry were affected by the land settlement under Elizabeth. Both Sir Cormac Mac Teig and Sir Cormack Mac Dermot attempted to "grab" the whole of the clan lands. On the whole, they succeeded, for with one exception to be noted later on, there is no trace in Muskerry in 1641 of the peasant proprietorship, if we may call it so, which is so noticeable in Carbery and west of the Shannon. But the near kinsmen of the chiefs, and in certain cases the chief men of the subject septs, were able to maintain their ground against the lords, and were, apparently, able to force them to make estates to them good in English law. In the process, however, they, in turn, seem to have squeezed out the lesser members of their own septs. Thus in 1641 the sept of Tuath na Dromin was represented by only two proprietors.

At the Restoration the entire parish went to the Earl of Clancarthy, with the exception of a small portion which fell to G. Skiddy (W) and a larger one to James Baldwin.

But between the Restoration and the Revolution the family of Dundareirke had recovered a portion of their property. According to the *Books of Postings and Sales*, Charles Mac Carthy of Toonadromin forfeited for his adherence to James II Dundarierke and a considerable property adjoining, all held in fee simple.⁷¹ But an Inquisition states that these lands were held on a lease from the Earl of Clancarthy.

According to Judge Trant Mac Carthy, the family of Tuath na Dromin still exists, and is represented by Barry Mac Carthy, Esq., eldest son of the late John George McCarthy, Esq., Secretary to the Cork County Council.⁷²

This ends the survey of "old Muskerry be north the Lee."

II.—THE LANDS SOUTH OF THE LEE.

HAVING finished the survey of "old Muskerry be north the Lee," we now come to the districts in the barony lying south of that river.

It would seem that these lands went to the Ld. of M. on the death in rebellion of the owner. Dermotus MacDowell Oge would probably be a brother of Fynin MacDonell Oge.

⁷¹ The townlands named are Doondarierke, Raghleag, Currageen, Brehanes, Dromreagh, Shanwallyshane, Keelfunchin.

⁷² I can find no authority for the judge's statement that the O'Flynn's held Dundareirk until 1578. There is no trace of this clan in any of the 16th century references to Muskerry.

Here we find a completely different previous history. All the country south of the Lee from its source to the City of Cork had been from time immemorial in possession of the great clan of O'Mahony. To a large portion of this district the name Ui Floin Luadh had been given, from Flan or Flon, an early ancestor of the O'Mahony chiefs. This name, anglicised Iflanlua, or Iflanloe, was still in the sixteenth century¹ applied to a considerable tract, comprising twenty-eight ploughlands in the western part of the parish of Kilmichael. The Mac Carthy lords of Muskerry had, at some unknown date (Canon O'Mahony thinks in the fifteenth century), established their authority south of the Lee. The eastern portion, probably recovered from the English, had passed into their direct possession; but as late as the closing years of Elizabeth's reign the three districts of Iflanloe, Clan Conogher and Clan Fyneen, amounting to sixty-three ploughlands, had remained in the possession of the O'Mahonys; and the extreme west of the district, the thirty ploughlands of Iveleary, was, up to 1641, the patrimony of the O'Learys.

The O'Learys were a branch of the Corea Laidhe, the people of whom the chief clan were the O'Driscolls, and whose territory originally comprised a very large extent of the sea-board of County Cork.² The O'Mahonys, even before the Norman invasion, had encroached on this territory, and had reduced it, roughly speaking, to the limits of the present diocese of Ross.

The Anglo-Normans occupied the greater part of the coast line of this territory. The O'Donovans and others, driven from County Limérick, sought new homes for themselves in the interior parts of it. The descendants of Donnell Gott Mac Carthy made themselves supreme over the Irish clans in what is now the barony of Carbery, and ultimately expelled the Anglo-Normans from the greater part of the lands in which they had settled, annexing to themselves a great part of the territory from which they had driven out the foreigner, while the O'Donovans occupied a portion of the rest.

In this confusion the possessions of the Corea Laidhe were still further restricted; some of their clans remained in a

¹ According to Canon O'Mahony, or rather to Smith, whom he follows, the parishes of Aglish, Canaboy, Moviddy, and others were originally in this district. The rural deanery comprises all the parishes from Athnowen to Inchigeelagh inclusive.

² See the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*. The O'Laeghaires appear in the Tract on Corea Laidhe as lords of the district between Rosscarbery and Glandore.

CROMWELLIAN CONFISCATION IN MUSKERRY 285

subordinate position on the lands which they had once owned; the O'Learys, when and how we do not know, found fresh homes around the head waters of the Lee, and gave their name to the lands thus won.

Iveleary corresponded to the Muskerry portion of the parish of Inchigeelagh. A notice in the *Calendar of State Papers*³ tell us that the Lord of Muskerry was endeavouring to dispossess the O'Learys of their lands, although they were freeholders and older in the country than the Mac Carthys themselves. Either in consequence of Government pressure following on the information thus given, or in deference to public opinion, neither Sir Cormac Mac Teige nor Sir Cormac Mac Dermot succeeded in annexing the lands of the O'Learys. Iveleary was included in the grants to both these lords; but it was the lordship, not the landlordship, of the territory which was thus conveyed.

Accordingly in 1641 some thirty-five or thirty-six O'Learys appear as landowners in this parish. This number of proprietors in a whole clan may appear small to those who have been taught to believe that under the Irish system of law nearly everyone was a landowner. But, in the first place, this theory is absolutely false. The free clansmen alone, a very limited aristocratic class, had a right to a share in the clan lands. Under them was a whole mass of dependants, some personally free, others in a state of semi-servitude, who may have had some fixity of tenure on their holdings, but who were in no sense landowners. And of the actual free clansmen, though each was entitled to his share of the clan lands, in practice the shares of individual brothers were often left in one common undivided stock. In Wales this practice extended to first cousins. It was not until all these were dead that their sons divided what had originally been the property of their great-grandfather. In the meantime the senior member of the landowning group thus formed acted in many respects as the representative of the group.⁴ It was only natural, then, that English lawyers should take him to be the actual owner of the lands of the family group, and hand over to him what was really the joint possession of himself and his kindred.

We have explicit orders for this procedure in the directions issued by the Government of James I in connection with the plantation of Longford.⁵ "Where small parcels are claimed by many through colour of gavelkind, the

³ *Cal. St. Paps.* 1588, p. 545.

⁴ See Seebohm: *Tribal System in Wales*.

⁵ *Cal. St. Paps.* 1615, p. 35.

grant to be to the eldest and worthiest in each cartron, he being required to grant estates to others (if need be); yet they are to consider that the multitude of small freeholders beggars the country, whereof none to have less than a cartron."

The reason given is curious, in the light of modern views. But the theory that small properties are bad for a country as a whole seems to have been accepted in England from the days of the Stuarts down to those of Queen Victoria. It is only quite recently that any change of opinion on this point has been discernible in the British Isles, although nearly all Continental countries seem to hold that the strength of a State depends very largely on the number of people who hold property in land.

There were three Castles in Iveleary—Carrignacurragh, Carrigneneelagh and Drumcaragh. Besides the O'Learys, three MacCarthys, John Mac Fyneen, Donough Mac Daniel, and Teig held lands in the north-west angle of the parish.

Their lands, as well as all those of the O'Learys, were confiscated, and went, under the Act of Settlement, to the Earl of Clancarthy.

But an unusually large number of the representatives of the original proprietors were granted leases under the Earl of the lands which they had originally owned. According to the *Book of Posting and Sales*, Kedagh O'Leary held in 1688 over 5,000 acres on a lease of 99 years, besides about 1,000 acres more for which no tenure is specified. Helen O'Leary had about 3,000 acres on a similar lease. Arthur, Daniel Mac Teig, Katherine, Teig, Cornelius Mac Auliffe and Daniel Mac Dermot are the names of other O'Learys holding extensive lands, in all about 2,600 acres, but no tenure is specified. Donough Mac Carthy held nearly 1,000 acres in Inchigeelagh on a lease of 99 years, and Teig Mac Owen Carthy over 1,100 acres on a similar tenure. The Commissioners of Claims allowed Fineen Mac Carthy a lease of 99 years for some of these lands, it is not clear for which. These Mac Carthys were probably kinsmen to the three of that family who held lands in the parish in 1641.

Coming now to the O'Mahony lands, which lay to the eastward of those of the O'Learys, we find that a great change had taken place in the interval between the closing years of the sixteenth century and 1641. For while, in or about 1600, the O'Mahonys are said to have held as freeholders sixty-three ploughlands, we find in 1641 that only a few fragments of land remained to them.⁶ In the Parish

⁶ See documents relating to Muskerry in *Car. Cal.*, 1600. Some at

of Kilmichael Donough O'Mahony had Knockaurane and Gortieurrige. In Kilmurry he had Tircavine, while Cormac MacFyneen O'Mahony had Ballyomichell.

From an Inquisition, 3rd of Charles I, we learn that Cormac Mac Carthy of Blarney had enfeoffed Conogher Mc Finin O'Mahowne of Balliminhell, the premises paying 13/4 yearly to Cormac Mac Carthy. This may refer to the same lands.

Although the *Books of Survey and Distribution* have no other entries as to O'Mahonys, we learn from Canon O'Mahony's work, cited above, that Dermot Mac Teig O'Mahony had in 1617 claimed the right of inheritance in the lands of Farnanes, and established his right against the Lord of Muskerry.⁷ According to Canon O'Mahony, Dermot was the undisturbed owner in 1641. The *Books of Survey and Distribution*, however, give the Lord of Muskerry as the owner. According to Canon O'Mahony, Dermot's grandson, after a long struggle, recovered the lands from the Countess of Clancarthy after the Restoration. When the Earl of Clancarthy forfeited at the Revolution, one Thomas Crook claimed Farnanes as being part of the Clancarthy estate, and dispossessed the petitioner, Darby O'Mahony, somewhere about 1698. These statements are all taken from the O'Mahonys' presentation of their case. If true, they show that the *Down Survey* and the *Books of Survey and Distribution* cannot always be implicitly depended on. This is only natural, as the Cromwellian Surveyors could not be expected in every case to have been fully informed as to conflicting claims to land. As to the causes which led to the dispossession of the O'Mahonys by the Lords of Muskerry we have no certain knowledge. But it is probable that the latter took advantage of the O'Mahonys, or some of them, having taken part in the rebellions of Elizabeth's time.

There is a grant in the *Patent Rolls* of James I, 1605, to Sir William Taaffe of the entire territory of Ifflonlua in Muskerry, 28 carucates, the lands of Donal Mac Conogher O'Mahony, attainted of high treason. Then we are told in an Inquisition, 17th of James I, that Cormac, son of Sir Cormac Mac Dermot, had purchased twenty-three plough-

least of these were drawn up by Donough, son of Sir Cormac Mac Teige. These documents probably represent the state of things before Sir Cormac Mac Dermot had been able to make full use of his grants from the Crown, the first of which was in 1589.

⁷ We also find from an Inquisition, 5th of Charles I, that Carolus, Ld. of M., mortgaged to Finny Roe O'Mahowne, the $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughland of Culriche (or Pullerick as Canon O'M. prints it). Other lands of Finin Roe are said to have been Dirach and Lackybegg.

lands of Iflanlua from Sir Thomas Hooper. Hooper may have bought up Taaffe's grant.

Beyond the fact that Iflanlua was the most westerly of the O'Mahony lands in Muskerry, that then came Clan Conogher, and then Clan Fineen, we have no data for the exact bounds of the three districts. At any rate Canon O'Mahony does not attempt to define them. Iflanlua, we have seen, was estimated as containing 28 ploughlands. Clan Fineen had 16 or 19. Clan Conogher is put at 14 or 18. Between them they took in the parishes of Kilmichael, Kilmurry, Duniskey and part at least of Moviddy. In the parish of Kilmurry the townlands of Clodah (older Cloghdha) and Ardrah were in Protestant hands in 1641.

Mr. Gillman, in Vol. I of the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, has given an account of the Castle of Cloghdha (as he spells it).⁸ The Castle had been acquired by the Mac Swinys; and had passed from them in 1613 to Edward Southworthe; for there is a grant to him from James I, dated that year, of the Castle, towns and lands of Cloghdha, otherwise Clogheendha and Ardra, being half a ploughland. This may have been in consequence of a money transaction with Brian Mac Swiny, who held the Castle in 1610.

The remainder of these parishes was in 1641 in the hands either of the Lord of Muskerry or his kinsmen. The same was the case, with but a few exceptions, with all the remaining parishes of Muskerry south of the Lee.

The chief of these exceptions was in the parish of Kana-boy, or Canaway. Here John O'Long, "alias O'Long," i.e., the chief of his name, had a very large estate. He also had in Moviddy the small townland of Garrane I Long. The lands of the O'Longs are given with those of the O'Healys and O'Herlihs in the documents describing Muskerry in the *Carew Calendar* as "countries in Muskerry."

We learn from Bishop Dive Downes that the See of Cork received chief rents out of Canaway; hence we are to conclude that the O'Longs, like the O'Healys and O'Herlihs were freeholders in hereditary occupation of church lands. It would appear that the head of the family had dispossessed all his kinsmen, though we have no information as to how this occurred. It may have suited officialdom to have considered all the lands of his sept as vested in the

⁸ Nicholas Browne, writing in 1597, gives "Clohinda" with Castlemore as having been acquired by the Lords of Muskerry at the expense of the Cogans. The Mac Carthys "have forced many English Freeholders to make their landes by estate, in lawe to them by endurance of imprisonment, and suche like."

head; or it may have happened that war, forfeiture or other accidents had extinguished all other claimants. John O'Long also held, as I have said, in Moviddy, Garrane I Long. This is not given on modern maps, but from the *Down Survey* it was south-west of Ardnecluigge, forming the extreme angle of the parish. The O'Long lands went to the Earl of Clancarthy at the Restoration.

The other proprietors in Muskerry south of the Lee in 1641 can be shortly enumerated. Pierce Goold had in Kanaboy⁹ Koolenashameroge; and Dermod Mac Teige Carthy had Shandangan in the same parish. Charles Oge Carthy, the proprietor of Cloghroe, had a large property in Moviddy, including the important Castle of Castlemore. On the other hand Kilerea, which had at one time been in possession of the founder of the family of Cloghroe, now appears as the property of the Lord of Muskerry. Charles Oge also held the extreme west portion of Kilbonane parish.¹⁰

Dermod Mac Teige, whose father was the second son of the 13th Lord and brother of Sir Cormac Mac Dermod, the 16th Lord, had a very large property south of the Lee. His residence was Inchirahilly in Moviddy, and besides a large estate in that parish¹¹ he had Shandangan in Canaboy, and Rahine and Kill in Knockavilly.¹² We have already mentioned his lands of Coolecallig, north of the Lee.

Joan, widow to Charles Mac Carthy, had in Knockavilly the townlands of Knockeprehane, Ballincornenigg, and Knockerigshealig (the modern Russell Hall and Tuoghcusheen).

As Knockaprehane, Knockraselig and Ballincourig, or Ballycurning, all appear at a later date in possession of the

⁹ The O'Long lands in Kanaboy were Lehenagh, Cooledrum, Coolecarrig, Clashyfadda and Coornesoone, Madallig, Inishmore, Killnardarris.

¹⁰ Charles Oge had Castlemore, Knockanroe, Kilbrianine (Kilvereen, Paris map, mod. Kilbrennan) in Moviddy. His Kilbonane lands are called Cloghduff, but from the maps it appears that this included the modern Parkmore. Knockanroe appears to have included the modern Garranenamuddagh and Carrigeen. Rathfelane, now in Kilbonane, then in Moviddy, belonged to the Lord of Muskerry.

¹¹ He had Incherahilly, Ardnecluigg (mod. Bellmount), Garraneleigh, Killcondy, Garranedaghow and Knockardblaghane (identified with Crookstown by Mr. Gillman).

An Inquisition of 1618 says that Teige had died in 1602, and that Dermod, his son and heir, was ten years of age at his father's death.

¹² The Lord of Muskerry had in Knockavilly, Ballywantaine (mod. Ballymountain), Garranewatterigg, and Billeragh (Map in *D. S.*) or Bulleragh (text), given in the Paris map as Ballcrogh, the modern Belrose. These examples show how townland names are liable to be deformed in the various maps and surveys.

Mac Carthys of Cloghroe,¹³ it seems likely that the Joan referred to was the widow of Cormac Oge, son of Sir Cormac Mac Teige, and founder of the family of Cloghroe. Or she may have been the widow of Cormac, proprietor of Cloghroe in 1641, if at the date of the compilation of the *Down Survey* he was dead.

The greater part of all these lands went at the Restoration to the Earl of Clancarthy. But Croke and Bayley, apparently two Cromwellian settlers, who both were Sheriffs of Cork City, got Inchirahilly and a great deal more of the lands which had belonged to Dermot Mac Teige Mac Carthy, as well as Castlemore and Kilbrennan, lands of Charles Oge.¹⁴ Some of the former proprietors got, as I have said before, leases of part at least of what had been their own property. Thus the *Book of Postings and Sales* shows that Darby Long had a lease of Lehenagh, Manollig and Killnardorish alias Coolenardorish in Kanaboy.

In Desertmore the Earl of Anglesea got part of Upper Ballygroman. In Moviddy the Earl of Cork had Farraneduff.

According to the *Book of Postings and Sales* Charles Mac Carthy of Ardaclugg had in fee simple Ardaclugg, Garrancloning and Garraneleigh in Moviddy and Shandangans in Kanaboy in 1688. He would probably be son or grandson of the owner in 1641. Among the prerogative wills is one of Denis Mac Carthy of Ardaclugg. This would probably give additional details as to this branch of the family.¹⁵

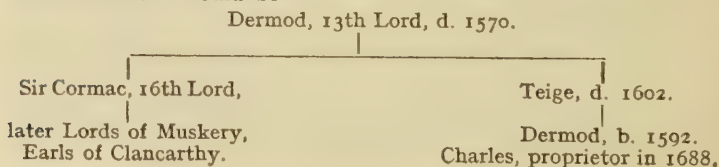
This ends my account of the landowners within the limits of Muskerry as they stood in 1641. Much of the modern barony, it must be remembered, was then counted as part

¹³ *Books of Postings and Sales*, and list of lands brought in 1784 to Robt. Mac C. of Carrignavar by the heiress of Cloghroe (*Journal C. H. and A. S.*, 1907, p. 173.)

Cormac Oge died in 1600, leaving a son one year old at his father's death.

¹⁴ According to Mr. Gillman in Vol. I of the *Journal C. H. and A. S.*, Croke and Bayley divided between them in 1667, the lands passed to them under the Act of Settlement. Bayley got Castlemore and Cloughduff. His daughter Ann married George Rye, ancestor of the family of Rye of Ryecourt. Croke got Kilbrennan, Garanedahow, Kilcondy, Inchirahilly, and Knockarblaghine. From him this last townland gets its modern name of Crookstown.

¹⁵ The descent would be



of Barretts. Of this barony a certain proportion belonged to Protestants; Lord Kilmallock (a Sarsfield who had married a Barrett heiress) was a large proprietor; and various members of the Barrett family also held a good deal of land. To complete my account of the Mac Carthys, mention must be made of a sept known as the Mac Donnell Mac Carthys, anglicised as Mac Daniel, who held a considerable tract of land in the parishes of Aglish and Matehy.

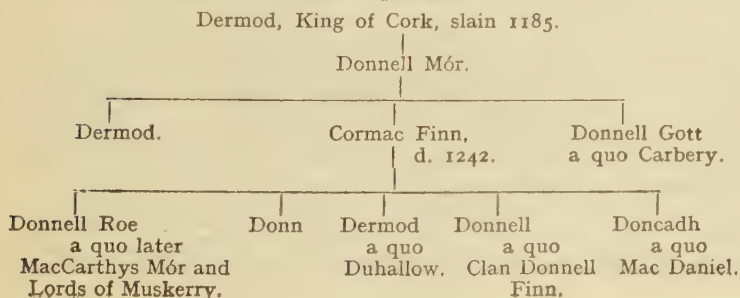
The head of the sept, Daniel Mac Carthy, alias Mac Daniel, had in Aglish, north of the Lee, the townlands of West Fergus, East Fergus, Cronodymor and Cronodybeg, together with West Ballyneadig and Killnaclona south of the river. In Donoughmore he had Derry, Knockgare, Knockinrush; in Kilcoleman he had Tullagh and Misell.¹⁶ In Matehy Charles Mac Daniel Carthy had Kilblaffer, Teig Mac Daniel Carthy had Lisladine; Owen Mac Phelim Carthy had Riagrallagh.

This sept of Mac Daniel Mac Carthys was not sprung from the founder of the House of Muskerry; but traced its origin to Doneadh an Droman, fifth son of Cormac Finn Mac Carthy Mór. This Doneadh was a brother of Dermod, founder of the line of Duhallow, and of Donnell the progenitor of Clan Donnell Finn. This, at any rate, is O'Hart's account.¹⁷ But it is right to observe that O'Hart gives no authority for his statements.

¹⁶ Most of these townlands can be found on the Ordnance map. The parish boundaries in 1641 differed to a certain extent from those of the present day. Kilcoleman parish has disappeared, and there have been many other important changes.

Mr. Gillman in his paper, "A Muskerry Townland," in this Journal in 1895, says that in 1636 Charles or Cormac Mac Dermod Mac Teige Mac Carthy sold Cronody Mór to Richard Hawes, and that this Charles or Cormac was head of the family of Aglish. This is not easy to reconcile with the *Books of Survey and Distribution*. For one thing, Teige, the founder of the family of Aglish, appears to have been still alive in 1641. Cormac Mac Callaghan Mac C. mortgaged Knockinarduffe to Richard Hawes (*Inq.*, Vol. IV, p. 213).

¹⁷ The following gives O'Hart's pedigree:—



The Inquisitions for County Cork contain many details about these Mac Daniel Mac Carthys in the reign of James I and Charles I. They are, however, scarcely mentioned in any printed documents; and, if alluded to, are likely to be confused with their neighbours of Aglish. From the *Book of Postings and Sales* we learn that the Earl of Clancarthy received a chief rent of £9 2s. 1d. a year from this sept. Their lands are set out, and the amount due from each denomination is stated.¹⁸ They also paid chief rents to "the heirs of Richard Oge Barrett"; and the chief of the sept had chief rents from his kinsmen.

In bringing to a conclusion this series of articles on the Cromwellian Confiscation in Muskerry I should like to point to the wealth of unpublished material relating to family history in seventeenth century Ireland contained in the Inquisitions *post mortem*, copies of which are to be found in the Royal Irish Academy. Some other writer might find time and inclination to give to the public a complete set of these relating, say, to one family, or to one particular barony.

Two things strike one about the Cromwellian Confiscation. First, its completeness. No one was too great, no one too small, to escape the net. The three acres of Catherine Quirke, of Galway, and the 100,000 acres of the Lord of Muskerry, are alike impartially seized by the usurping powers and set out to their partisans.¹⁹ Nowhere on the Continent was there anything like this. In Bohemia, where as in Ireland, a sweeping confiscation followed on a religious war, a great deal of the land belonged to village communities or to towns, or to the Church, and these possessions were undisturbed. But in Ireland communal ownership had practically disappeared. The land was owned by individuals, and in the whole island only twenty-six Catholics were left in undisturbed possession of their estates.

At the Restoration, many of the greater landowners recovered what they had lost; the smaller proprietors disappeared utterly.

¹⁸ The *Books of Survey and Distribution* assign East Ballyneadig to the Lord of Muskerry. Teig Mac Owen Carthy was allowed a lease for 31 years of East Ballyneadig in 1703. He may have belonged to this sept. An Inquisition of 1638 finds that Owen Mac Dermot C. exchanged Ballyneady East and Tycloghy with Owen Mac Donell C. for Currynody. Teig was probably son of this Owen Mac Donell.

¹⁹ Catherine Quirke received two acres as compensation for her former estate. This compensation was calculated at $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{2}{3}$ of the original estate, according to the category into which the transplanted person fell. So Catherine may have originally held six acres.

The second point is the completeness of the Record. The *Down Survey*, with its maps and text, was intended to form, with the *Strafford Surveys* of Connaught and Ormond, a complete record of the ownership of landed property in Ireland as far as it came within the purview of the Cromwellian surveyors. In practice, lands in the possession of Protestants are only cursorily touched on in the *Down Survey*; because Protestant loyalists, if they accepted the Commonwealth, were allowed to compound for their estates for a money payment, and those Protestants who had supported the English rebels were naturally, on the triumph of the latter, left in possession of their property.

The *Strafford Survey* and much of the *Down Survey* perished in the great fire of 1711. But much of the latter survives; and where the parish maps have perished we still have the set of barony maps which were captured by a French privateer while on their way to England. Reproductions of these have been recently made, and can be purchased at a very moderate price.

Finally we have, in the *Books of Survey and Distribution*, a unique record, from which it is possible to ascertain with regard to almost every townland in Ireland who was its owner in 1641, to whom it passed after the Restoration settlement, and, in many cases, what was the fate of this owner at the final confiscation under William of Orange.²⁰

A special feature of Irish topography, the division of the whole country into "townlands," each with its proper name, a division apparently of extreme antiquity, is a feature which gives interest and assistance to the worker in this field. It is remarkable, in a country with such a troubled history as Ireland, to see how these townland names have persisted through all changes to our own day. Sometimes the name is disguised by modern ideas as to spelling, as where the modern Belrose conceals the seventeenth century Billeragh,²¹ sometimes by being translated into English, as Bellmount for Ardnecluisse.²² Sometimes one large townland has been divided into two or more smaller ones; more rarely older townlands have been merged into larger divisions. But, on the whole, the continuity is remarkable,

²⁰ I leave this passage as I wrote it in 1919.

Now, alas, the *Down Survey* has gone; of the *Books of Survey and Distribution* a transcript covering most of the island, but differing in certain respects from the Record office copy, survives in the Royal Irish Academy. A clean sweep has been made of most of our other records by our modern "patriots."

²¹ Parish of Knockavilly.

²² Parish of Moviddy.

and enables us to build up, as I have attempted to do in these articles, a map showing a part of Ireland as it was held by various clans in the sixteenth century, and by individuals in the early part of the seventeenth.

With the materials I have indicated it is perhaps not too much to hope that ultimately we may arrive at something worthy to be called a historical geography of Ireland.

NOTE ON PARISHES.

In the above chapter the civil parishes of Muskerry have been frequently mentioned. I give a map showing them as they appear from the Ordnance Survey maps of 1844-'45.

Comparing them with the parishes as given in the maps of the *Down Survey* we find that some alterations have taken place in the intervening period. The chief of these are indicated below; they mostly affect the eastern parishes.

In the seventeenth century Garrycloyne included the townlands east and north-east of the Shournagh (except Courtbrack), which are now in Matehy.

Matehy and Iniscarra have been completely rearranged, the southern townlands of the modern Matehy being in Iniscarra, and the northern ones of the present Iniscarra being in Matehy, or in one case in Donoughmore. In the seventeenth century some townlands now in Donoughmore were then part of Matehy.

There was a parish called Kilcoleman, which no longer exists. It was partly in Barretts and partly in Muskerry, as were Matehy and Iniscarra, and corresponded to the northern projection and some of the eastern part of the modern Magourney.

This last parish did not exist in the seventeenth century, the townlands not included in Kilcoleman being then counted as part of Aghabulloge. In the remainder of the barony there seem to be no important differences except that Duniskey does not appear among the seventeenth century parishes, and that part of the old Kilmurry is now counted as a detached portion of Ballinadee, the larger part of which is in Carbery.

It will be noted that the western and northern parishes are of much greater extent than those in the south-eastern portion of the barony. This may in part be accounted for by the more hilly and barren nature of these districts. In several cases it can be shown that the larger parishes correspond to the old Irish Tuath; and some of them, such as

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

SOURCES FOR THE LORDSHIP OF MAC CARTHY MÓR.

The following are the chief authorities used in the foregoing pages:—

- (1.) The Survey made on the death of the Earl of Clancarthy (1597 or '98) and preserved in Vol. 625 of the *Carew MSS.*, Lambeth. I quote it as "the Survey."
- (2.) A report on the countries subject to the same Earl, apparently by Sir William Herbert, printed in *Calendar of State Papers*, 1588, p. 334.
- (3.) A report on Munster, written in 1597 by Nicholas, son of Sir Valentine Browne of Molahiffe. It has been printed from a MS. in the British Museum under the title "Munster in A.D. 1597," in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 2nd series, Vol. XII.
- (4.) A paper calendared in *Cal. of Carew MSS.*, Vol. I, p. 366, dating from A.D. 1565, containing the services due from O'Sullivan Bere to Mac Carthy Mór. It is printed somewhat imperfectly. I have supplemented it from the original.
- (5.) An account of the lands of the O'Sullivan's of Bere, drawn up in 1587, and calendared in the *Cal. St. Paps.* for that year, p. 363: also other papers in the London Record Office, dealing with Bere and Bantry.
- (6.) Reports and Grants printed in Morrin, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Elizabeth, and in *Patent Rolls*, James I.
- (7.) The *Down Survey*, and the *Books of Survey and Distribution*; notes made before their destruction in 1922.
- (8.) A work on Kerry history, written about the middle of the eighteenth century, apparently by a member of the Franciscan community of Muckross, and published, with copious notes, and many misprints, in the *Journal of the Cork H. and A. Soc. for the years 1898, 1899 and 1900*, under the title "Ancient History of the Kingdom of Kerry." I cite it as the "Anonymous Author."
- (9.) A series of documents relating to Muskerry in the *Carew MSS.* at Lambeth, calendared in *Carew Cal.*, 1600, p. 511.
- (10.) Various articles in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland*, and its predecessors, in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, and in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*.

For genealogical details I have relied as far as possible on entries in the *Annals of Ulster*, the *Annals of Loch Cé*, and the *Four Masters*. I have compared them with pedigrees in the *Lambeth MSS.*; in the Appendix to Keating (O'Mahony's edition) and other sources.

My special thanks are due to successive Librarians of the Lambeth Palace Library.

APPENDIX B.

MEASURES OF LAND.

It would seem that the "Barony" of the Survey, and of the *Composition of Connaught*, was a division for fiscal purposes, equivalent to the territory called by Keating and others a *Tricha-ced*.

Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topographia Hibernica*) and the Anglo-Norman documents relating to grants of land, etc., use the word *cantred* as equivalent apparently to *tricha-ced*, and corresponding to the Welsh *cantref*. The word *cantred* does not seem to be of Irish origin.

The *Tricha-ced*, of which there were, according to Keating, 185, to O'Flaherty, 184, and to Giraldus Cambrensis, 176, in all Ireland, contained 30 ballibetaghs; each, according to Keating, having twelve ploughlands, of 120 acres each. Hence the origin of the term "quarter" to denote three ploughlands, as being the fourth part of the ballibetagh.

There is, however, much confusion about these measures, due, most likely, to the fact that different names were used in different provinces. Roderic O'Flaherty spends much time in attempting to show that each *Baile* or ballibetagh had only four ploughlands, each of 120 acres; and he attacks those who say that a *Baile* had six or twelve (*Ogygia*, p. 37, Hely's translation).

From the *Lambeth Survey*, and from the *State Papers* (notably for Muskerry, *Car. Cal.* 1600, p. 511) it is certain that in Munster the normal "quarter" had three ploughlands. But from the *Composition of Connaught* we learn that there the name *quarter* was given to the area measuring 120 acres; and that the Connaught quarter was what was called a ploughland in Munster.

According to O'Flaherty, a ploughland is as much ground as is supposed to be ploughed by one plough in a year, as an acre is as much ground as can be turned up in a day by a pair of yokes. He also seems to derive its Irish name, *seisreach*, from six horses, "which number they use in ploughing" (*Ogygia*, pp. 36-37).

Furthermore, our Survey mentions quarters containing four, or even more ploughlands. In Duhallow, as we learn from the *Patent Rolls*, Jas. I, pp. 282, 285, there were "great quarters," each containing nine ploughlands or twenty-four "men's portions."

The unit of measurement differed in the various provinces. In parts of Ulster it was the *tath* of sixty acres, as is set out in Sir John Davies' description of Monaghan. In Fermanagh, too, he found *taths*, four of which made a "quarter" and sixteen a ballibetagh. "But," says he, "the measure of this country is far larger."

Vol. 625 of the *Carew MSS.* has some notes on land measures, from which we learn that O'Dempsey's country (in King's and Queen's Counties) was divided into ploughlands each of 320 acres, while in Ely O'Carroll the ploughland had 200, and in Fercal only 50 acres. O'Melaghlin's and Mac Geoghegan's lands in Westmeath were divided into *cartrons* each of 60 acres. But in Connaught a *cartron* was the fourth-part of the *quarter* of 120 acres.

In general the unit was 120 acres or some subdivision of it.

The acre also differed. In *Car. Cal.*, 1623, p. 432, is given "The comparison and difference of the English and Irish Acre set down according to the ratios found in Munster in 1585." According to this, while the English perch had $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the Irish perch was of

21, 24, 27, or 29 feet. The acre according to this last measure equalled 3 acres 29 perches English. Furthermore, a Connaught *quarter* had 120 acres Irish, by computation 200 English, and "a plowland in Munster had 450 acres of English measure or thereabouts."

The *Civil Survey* tells us that in Tipperary there were "great acres" each equal to about 30 plantation acres. Twenty of these made a *colpe*, a measure commonly used in the Tipperary portion of that Survey. But the "*colpe*" seems to have varied. Sometimes it equals 1,000 statute acres, sometimes the quarter of a *colpe* has now 500 statute acres, and there are other variations.

Keating says: "The reader must understand that the acre, according to the old Gaelic measurement, was twice or three times as large as that used by the strangers at the present time" (O'Mahony's trans., p. 93). O'Flaherty speaks of "Strafford" and "smaller English measure" (*Ogygia*, p. 38).

Many modern writers, notably the late Dr. W. K. Sullivan, in his introduction to O'Curry, equate *tricha-ced*, *cantred* and *tuath*. Possibly in olden days the *tricha-ced* was supposed to be the amount of land occupied by the *tuath* or political unit.

But it is perfectly clear that in the sixteenth century, and indeed at a much earlier period, the *tuath* was much smaller than the *tricha-ced*. A report on Donegal sent in by Sir Francis Shaen, and given with the original Irish version in *Cal. St. Paps.*, 1607, p. 342, says that a *tuath* is about the fourth-part of a barony, and enumerates upwards of sixteen *tuaths* of very variable extent, now all included in four baronies of Donegal, besides a *tricha-ced* in O'Dogherty's country—the modern barony of Inishowen.

In Mr. Knox's papers on the Occupation of Connaught by the Anglo-Normans (*J. R. S. A.*, 1902, p. 137) we find the *theodum* (evidently the Irish *tuath* in a Latinised form) given as a sub-division of a *cantred*.

Conclusive proof that the *tricha-ced* was larger than the *tuath* can be given from Munster. The "two Munsters" between them had seventy *tricha-ceds*, thirty-five in East, thirty-five in West Munster (Keating, etc.). But the territory of Connelloe, the western half of the County Limerick, now sub-divided into four baronies, had at least sixteen *tuaths* in the sixteenth century (*Car. Cal.*, 1592, p. 64). Father Begley, in his *Diocese of Limerick*, enumerates, largely from an Inquisition of A.D. 1298, and marks on his map, some twenty *tuaths* in this one diocese, which does not include the whole county. From his map, and from evidence relating to Muskerry and Carbery, it would appear that very often the *tuath* corresponded to the modern civil parish. As the *tuath* was originally the patrimony of a tribal unit "having a complete political and legal administration, a chief or Rígh" (*Introduction to O'Curry*, lxxix), it naturally was of variable extent. The *mór-tuath*, or petty kingdom, comprising several subject *tuaths*, was, equally naturally, of variable extent. Thus all or most of the diocese of Limerick formed the petty kingdom of the *Ui Fídhgente*. Sixteen of the *tuaths* of this kingdom formed the *mór-tuath* or sub-kingdom of the *Ui Conaill*, while the *mór-tuath* of *Ui Cairbre* had at least six, possibly ten *tuaths*.

As the modern diocese in many cases represents the ancient tribal kingdom, e.g., Waterford and Lismore the Deisi, Ross the Corca Laidhe, Cork the *Ui Eachach*, so the rural deanery often represents a smaller unit such as a *mór-tuath*, e.g., Kinelea and Musgrylin in Co. Cork, and the parish the ultimate division, i.e., the *tuath*.

In Wales the cantrefs seem to have been the oldest division; but by the thirteenth century they seem to have lost all practical importance. By that time the unit, both political and fiscal, was the commote, which had its own local administration under royal officers, was supposed to contain a definite area of land, or at least a definite number of households, and was apportioned in fixed proportions between the king's demesne, the free tribesmen and the unfree classes. The cantref was supposed normally to contain two commotes; and this was very largely the case in North Wales; but we find some cantrefs, especially in South Wales, with three, or even in a few cases six or seven commotes.

In Ireland the tricha-ced or cantred appears to have been a division for fiscal purposes, nominally of a definite extent. It did not necessarily correspond with a definite political unit. Sometimes one community held several tricha-ceds; sometimes, at least from the fourteenth century on, one tricha-ced was divided among clans quite unconnected by race. As the clans grew out of the older tribes, and in turn split up into septs, and in the confusion following on the Anglo-Norman settlement, the correspondence between the theoretical tricha-ced and the actual political divisions still further decreased. But when we find Desmond divided into three and a half baronies, a division in no wise corresponding to any political one, and when we find "half baronies" mentioned elsewhere, we must take these baronies as representing the old tricha-ced, a fiscal, not a political unit.

Of course there are exceptions. In the *Carew MSS.* at Lambeth there is a reference to the sub-divisions of the immense barony of Carbery in Co. Cork, which are called cantreds, and which really correspond to the lands held by the chief subject clans such as the O'Driscolls and O'Mahonys, and so must have been of comparatively recent origin.

Also the modern baronies of Leitrim answer in some cases to the lands of the clans subject to O'Rourke. So, too, the Sligo baronies correspond to the clan divisions of the sixteenth century. There are other cases also. But where the baronies do not correspond to the political divisions of that century, they will in general be found to be the equivalents of the ancient tricha-ced.

And the tricha-ced is not, in historical times at least, to be confounded with the tuath.

APPENDIX C.

THE NON-FREE POPULATION.

We find allusions in the *State Papers* to the "churls" or "husbandmen" and in the Irish Annals to the "plebeians" as to quite a separate caste. The term "followers" found in a letter of Florence Mac Carthy's, quoted on p. 163 of the *Life and Letters*, and occurring in the description of Muskerry and elsewhere, refers apparently to the same class.

I give some references.

The Report on Ireland to Henry VIII in 1515, referred to in my opening pages, distinguishes the "army" from the "comyn folke." "Slaves" in Offaly are mentioned in 1548.¹ "Slaves" of the

¹ Quoted in "*Journal R. H. Ass.*," Vol. II, new series, p. 346.

Butlers are mentioned in a letter of Mac I Brien of Arra, dated 1568.

Sidney says of Shane O'Neill: "He armyth and weaponyth all the peasantes of his cuntre, the fyrst that ever so dyd of an Irishman."²

A grant to the Baron of Upper Ossory includes "waifs, strays, *nativos et nativas*."

In Wales we know that the "non-tribesmen," as Seebohm calls them, lived on lands set apart for them: and were under certain disabilities, amongst others that, in early times at least, the use of arms was forbidden them. In a description of the Western Islands of Scotland, given in Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, and said by him to have been compiled between 1577 and 1595, it is stated that no labourers of the ground were permitted to go to war, but only "gentlemen quhilk labouris not."³

And in English accounts of military operations in Ireland there is frequently a distinction drawn between the "churls" and the "weaponed men," as when Sir R. Bingham says that half the forces of the Burkes lately in rebellion were only churls armed with gallowglasses' axes.⁴ There were even occasions when, on the capture or surrender of a castle, the churls and the women were not massacred: as when Francis Strafford, writing to Sir Henry Wallop an account of a successful attack he had made on some of the O'Cahanes, says: "There was neither woman, child nor churl killed."⁵ At the attack on Rincorran Castle, during the siege of Kinsale, we are told that a great multitude of churls, women and children were taken of the Irish, but not a man that bare weapon.⁶

On the other hand, Sir C. Wilmot found in O'Sullivan Bere's camp "their hurt men, women, children and churls, whereof the soldiers made booty, their hurt men being executed, and the rest escaped not free."⁷ So that a clear distinction appears between the combatant and the non-combatant section of the population.⁸

I do not attempt to compare the various grades of society in the sixteenth century with the elaborate gradation of social ranks among free and non-free alike, reproduced from the *Law Tracts* by various authors. The main distinction in the later period would no doubt be between those who owned land, and those who lived on lands belonging to others. Many of these last were personally free; and often were offshoots from families of distinction in other parts of the island; but had settled as mercenaries, or in other positions of trust and dignity in alien territories. Such were the famous fighting clans of the Mac Swinys and Mac Sheehys; the O'Mahonys, called "Sliocht Mergies," who were stewards and officers under Mac Carthy Mór in Desmond; the O'Connells, warders of Ballycarbery Castle. Many of these families acquired lands and wealth in the sixteenth century. Below them there must have been an almost infinite gradation of dependents on the great lords. As to their numbers we have no information, but from the docu-

² Sidney to Leicester: quoted in "Dict. Nat. Biog."

³ "Celtic Scotland," Vol. III, p. 439. The description also gives many curious details about the "yearlie dewties" in butter, cheese, corn, ale, wine, cattle, silver, etc., as well as the uncertain Cuddies; the same system, in fact, as in Desmond.

⁴ "Cal. St. Paps," 1589, p. 332.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 504.

⁶ "Car. Cal.," 1601, p. 185.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1602, p. 405.

⁸ See "Four Masters," 1586, where they speak in the same terms of the slaughter by English forces of churls, women and decrepit persons.

ments relative to the plantation of Wexford under James I, fully four-fifths of the population in the Irish districts of that county seem to have belonged to the non-landowning classes.

In older days the non-free seem to have been very oppressively treated. We are told that "the arch-chiefs of Hy-Many had the power to increase the rents on these tribes," i.e., certain named "enslaved" tribes *ad libitum*. And, again, "there are also townlands which we have not mentioned of the Firbolgs in those districts who are bound to serve the chiefs and who are serfs and hereditary followers of the kings of Hy-Many."

Keating, at the commencement of the Genealogical Appendix to his *History*, clearly distinguishes between the free land-owning class and those "enslaved clans or plebeians whose history it is not proper to trace." Of such would have been those tenants of the See of Cloyne, O'Meganes, Mac Norans, O'Evenys, O'Loughans and other names, of whom we read.

"*Item dicunt quod homines de nacione Omeganis sunt puri homines Sancti Colmani et pertinent ad ecclesiam. . . . Et quod dominus potest omnes istos et filios et filias eorum in omnibus locis capere et bona earum seysire et eos vendere,*" . . . etc., etc.

The *Pipe Roll* of Cloyne shows us the state of affairs in the fourteenth century.

A full study of the status of the unfree or "non-tribesman" element in the population of Wales would bring out many points common also in the Irish social system.

The duty of supporting the prince fell in Wales on free and unfree alike, but the amount of the obligation in each case was different; and different terms were employed. One main difference was that the services of the unfree were of a more or less uncertain nature, a fact which the English lawyers of the sixteenth century held to be a proof that the non-free were only tenants-at-will of the lords.

The land held by the non-tribesmen in Wales was called *tir cyfrif*, or "register land."

At least once we meet also the phrase *tir burdd*, or "board land," and this can be Latinised as *terra mensalis*, which at once reminds us of Sir John Davies' description of Fermanagh. He tells us that Maguire had about his castle at Enniskillen almost a ballibetagh of land "which he manured with his own churls"—just as we find in regard to the Prince of Wales' demesne round his chief seat at Aberffraw—and scattered through the country were *mensal lands*, not exceeding four ballibetaghs in extent, yielding vessels of butter, measures of meal, "porks" and other duties, while from the rest of the country he had in time of peace only "240 beeves or thereabouts yearly paid unto him out of all the seven baronies."⁹

A proclamation, dated March 11th, 1605 (new style), by the Lord Deputy Chichester, finally swept away this distinction between free and non-free, and declared that in future "they and every of them, their wives and children, are the free, natural, and immediate subjects of His Majesty, and are not to be called the natives or natural followers of any other lord or chieftain whatsoever."¹⁰

For a full treatment of the whole subject as regards Ireland the reader is referred to Dr. Bonn's work, especially Chapter II of Volume I.

⁹ It is not clear whether each barony paid 240 beeves, or whether this was the sum of the payments. Maguire's subjects evidently were much more lightly taxed than those of the Lords of Desmond.

¹⁰ Given in Appendix to Vol. I of Bonn, "Die Englische Kolonisation in Irland." I have modernised the spelling.

APPENDIX D.

THE SEPTS OF THE MAC CARTHYS.

SEPT.	ORIGIN.
Clan Tadhg Roe na Sgairte in Carbery, with its sub-divisions, Clan Shane and Clan Finghin.	From Cormac, eldest son of King Dermot (<i>Lambeth MSS.</i> and O'Hart). The derivation from a son of K. Dermot named Tadhg Roe may be rejected.
Mac Carthy Reagh, and the other Carbery septs, except as above	From Donnell Gott.
Clan Dermond in Glanerought and Bere	From Dermot, son of Cormac Fionn (<i>Lambeth MSS.</i>).
Clan Donnell Finn	From Donnell Fionn, son of Cormac Fionn.
Mac Donough Mac Carthy of Duhallow	From Dermot, son of Cormac Fionn (<i>Four Masters</i>), or From Dermot, son of Donnell Roe (<i>Lambeth MSS.</i>).
Mac Donnell, <i>alias</i> Mac Daniel, Mac Carthy in Barretts	From Doncha an Droman, son of Cormac Fionn (O'Hart).
MacFinghin of Ardtully	From Dermot Roe, son of Donnell Roe (<i>Lambeth MSS.</i>), or From Dermot "of Tralee," son of Cormac Fionn (Keating), or son of Donnell Roe (Cronnelly), or of Donnell Oge (Mac Firbis and <i>Book of Munster</i>). Dermot of Tralee was murdered in 1325.
Clan Donnell Roe in Bantry	From Eoghan, son of Donnell Roe (O'Clery, Keating, <i>Lambeth MSS.</i> , Vol. 635), or of Donnell Oge (Mac Firbis and <i>Book of Munster</i>).
Mac Carthy of Muskerry	From Dermot, son of Cormac Mór. <i>Lambeth MSS.</i> make him son of Donnell Oge, but this is certainly wrong.
Slíocht Eoghan Mór of Coshmaing.	From Eoghan, brother of Dermot, ancestor of Muskerry, and so son of Cormac Mór.

304 GLEANINGS FROM IRISH HISTORY

Sliocht Finghin Duff of Ard-canaghty	From Donnchadh, son of Cormac Mór (Keating, Cronnelly, O'Hart).
Sliocht Cormac of Dinguile	From Cormac, son of Tadhg na Mainistragh (<i>Lam. MSS.</i>).

OF ORIGIN UNKNOWN TO ME.

Sliocht Teige Kittagh, near Kenmare	
Sliocht Nedeén, near Kenmare.	
Sliocht nyne Rudderie, round Lough Currane	
Sliocht Donnell Brick, <i>alias</i> Mac Teige ne Towin, in Iveragh	Nicholas Browne makes two separate septs of these; but from Herbert, and the <i>Survey of Desmond</i> it would appear that these are different names for the same sept.
Sliocht Cormac of Ballycarnig	Mentioned only by Nicholas Browne.

THE SEPTS OF CARBERY.

Sliocht Tadhg Roe na Sgairte	Origin already given.
Clan Dermond	From Dermot, son of Donnell Gott (Cronnelly, who says this Dermot succeeded Donnell Gott as King of Desmond).
Clan Tadhg Dall, <i>alias</i> Clan Tadhg Ilen	From Tadhg Dall, son of Donnell Gott (Cronnelly).
Sliocht Felim of Glean-a-Chroim	From Cormac Donn, younger son of Donnell Caomh, Lord of Carbery. Donnell Caomh died in 1320.
Clan Crimen	From Dermot, younger son of Donnell Glas, who was Lord of Carbery, 1320-1366.
Sliocht Glas	From Donnell Glas II, Lord of Carbery after the death in 1414 of his father, Donnell Reagh.
Sliocht Dermot of Iniskeen	From Donough, second son of Donnell Reagh.

Sliocht Cormac na Coille	From Cormac, third son of Donnell Reagh.
Sliocht Owen	From Eoghan, fourth son of Donnell Reagh.

According to a *Lambeth MS.* pedigree (Vol. 635), these four brothers succeeded one another as Lords of Carbery. Then the fifth brother, Dermod, succeeded, and the children of his elder brothers had lands settled on them on condition that none of them should ever claim the Lordship.

The following septs are named in the account of Carbery printed in the *Carew Calendar*, 1599. I can find no account of their origin.

Sliocht Corky	
Sliocht Donough	
Sliocht Shane Roe	probably a sub-sept of Clan Tadhg Roe na Sgairste.
Tuath ny Killie	
Tuath Bally ny Deyghie	

THE SEPTS OF MUSKERRY.

SEPT.	ORIGIN.
Sliocht Tuath na Dromin	From Felim, 4th Lord of Mus- kerry, 3rd son of the first Lord, Dermod Mór. Felim murdered his nephew and heir- presumptive, Cormac, son of Tadhg, the 2nd Lord, and for this he and his posterity "were disenabled to be lords" (<i>Lambeth MSS.</i>).
Clan Faddagh	From Donough, fourth son of the first Lord (<i>Lam. MSS.</i>).
Sliocht Shanekillie, i.e., Sean a Choill	From Donnell, fifth Lord (<i>Lam.</i> <i>MSS.</i>).
Sept of Drishane or "Tuogh- ogee "	From Dermod, son of Tadhg, sixth Lord, and brother of Cormac Laidher, seventh Lord.
Sliocht Cloghroe	From Eoghan, son of the sixth Lord, Tadhg, and brother of Dermod, ancestor of Drishane. He murdered his brother, Cormac Laidher, and so his posterity were set aside from the Lordship; but Tuath Cloghroe was given to them. (<i>Lambeth MSS.</i>).

Sliocht Decane

I cannot find any particulars as to this sept.

Sliocht Cormac Oge

Possibly the descendants of Cormac Oge, tenth Lord.

INDEX.

A.

- Absentee owners, 199, 203, 205, 206, 207.
- Achill Island, Ormonds recognised as owners of, 228.
- Acre, varying extent of, 298-9.
- Act of Absentees, 210, 211, 245.
- of Explanation, 255, 257, 262, 267, 276.
- of Settlement, 254, 276, 286, 290N.
- Aghinagh, owners of, 133, 268-70.
- Aglish, position of, 266, 284N.
- family of, 267, 268, 291N.
- Mac Daniel MacCarthys in, 291.
- Agrarian troubles, the root of, 194, 195.
- Anglo-Norman Invasion, 2, 4, 5, 6, 80, 109, 110, 161, 162, 163, 165, 199, 200.
- Anonymous History of Kerry*, cited 25, 44, 45, 46N, 47, 189.
- Antrim, descendants of Ulster Monarchs in, 199.
- O'Neills in, 201, 202, 248.
- English expelled from, 224.
- MacDonnells in, 248.
- Ardaclogg, MacCarthys of, 289, 290.
- Ardcanaghty, *see* Sliocht Finghin Duff of Ardcanaghty, under MacCarthys, Septs of.
- Ardea, Castle of, owners of, 37, 38.
- Ardintenant, 173.
- Ardtully, *see* Mac Finghin of, in MacCarthys, Septs of.
- Arklow, 207.
- Armagh, part of kingdom of the Oirghialla, 199.
- O'Neills in, 201, 212, 237.
- O'Hanlons in, 201, 237.
- most of, vested in the Crown, 241, 242.
- grants to natives in, 244.
- Arran, Isles of, owners of, 228.
- Arundells, lands held by, 163, 183.
- encroachments of MacCarthy Reagh on, 165N.
- Ashanties, the skull of Sir Charles MacCarthy treasured by, 52.

B.

- "Baile," a. *See* Ballybetagh.
- Baldwin, James, 281N, 283.
- Ballea Castle, acquired by Sir Cormac MacTeige, 126.
- Ballincollig, owners of, 132, 134, 136.
- "Ballybetagh," extent of, 14, 298.
- Ballycarbery, Castle of, 19, 25, 25N, 69.
- Ballynahinch, Barony of, owners of lands in, 190, 191.
- Baltimore, Harbour of, 166.
- Baltinglas, Lord, insurrection of, 237.
- Bantry, Barony of, freeholders in, 37-8.
- — ultimate owners of, 44N.
- — Mac Carthys of Clan Donnell Roe in, 61.
- — *See* also Bere and Bantry, Barony of.
- Castle of, held by O'Sullivan Bere, 34.
- Barony, a, meaning of the term, 14, 106, 298.
- — as a fiscal unit, 298, 300.
- — as a political unit, 300.
- Barrett, Andrew, his claim to O'Callaghan lands, 93.
- — his claim to Ballincollig, 133.
- — Ballincollig seized by, 134.
- — Lordship obtained by, 134, 135, 136.
- Sir Andrew, M.P. for Cork, 136.
- Beany, murders his chief, 135.
- Catherine, *see* Barrett, Andrew.
- Ellen, 251, 262, 275N.
- Edmund, expelled from Ballincollig, 134.
- — succeeds to Lordship, 134.
- Sir James, 136.
- James "Bulleragh," 134.
- — "Liegh," 134.
- — "Riagh," Lord of Barrett's country, 134.
- John, grants Cloghphilip to Eoghan Mac Carthy, 112, 132, 261.
- Col. John, career of, 136

- Barrett, John Fitz Richard, his claims to Lordship, 134.
 — murder of, 135.
 — Oliver, his claims to Lordship 134
 — Richard, 134.
 — Richard Oge, Claim of to Lombard lands, 127.
 — lands granted to, 133.
 — rents payable to heirs of, 133, 292.
 — William, his son's claim to Lordship. 134.
 — William (8th Lord), Andrew's claim against, 134.
 — Crown's title to his lands, 135.
 — Sir William, his disposal of his lands, 136.
 Barretts, the, vassals of Mac Carthy Mór, 63, 93, 131, 208.
 — vassals of Earls of Desmond, 208.
 — Tanistry in the history of, 91.
 — lands held by, 106, 110, 111, 132, 163, 260-1.
 — adjustment of territory of, 126.
 — origin of, 131.
 — origin of power of, 133.
 — rival claims to Lordship, 134-6.
 — pedigree of, 135.
 — lands of, seized by Mac Carthy of Muskerry, 112, 128, 132, 170, 183, 208.
 — name taken by, in Connaught, 202.
 — lands of, intermingled with Mac Carthys, 214N.
 — the Chief a feudal lord, 214N.
 — rents paid by, 208.
 — Barony of, freeholders in, 136, 258N, 291.
 — division of, 264, 266.
 Barry, The Lord, his title to his lands, 213-14.
 — David, his claim to Cloghroe, 264N.
 — Philip de, Killeedy granted to, 142N.
 — Mór, 184.
 — Oge, 165N, 184.
 — Roe, 183-184.
 Barrymore, Barony of, lands represented by, 106.
 — lands in, given to loyal Catholics, 254-5.
 — lands held by Mac Carthys in, 257, 258N, 259.
 — Earl of, his property not confiscated, 255.
 Barryroe, Barony of, 106.
 Barrys, lands claimed by, 125.
 — division of family, 184.
 — the, lands held by, 92, 93, 106, 125, 163, 183.
 — dues payable on lands of, 185.
 — their estates in Connaught neglected, 201.
 — position of, in Cork, 204.
 — their submission to the Crown 211.
 — treatment of, after Desmond Rebellion, 236.
 — small land owners under, 248.
 — tenure of, 248-9.
 Beacon, Richard, acquires some of lands of Clan Donnell Roe, 61.
 Beltz, Mr., his enquiries into fate of the O'Sullivans, 38.
 Bere, Barony of, freeholders in, 37.
 — Mac Carthys of Clan Desmond in, 60.
 — lands held by Earl of Cork in, 61.
 — representatives of old owners of, 64.
 — rights of Mac Carthy Mór in, to be extinguished, 68.
 — See also Bere and Bantry, Barony of.
 Bere and Bantry, Barony of, allotment of, to County Cork, 14N.
 — O'Sullivans in, 27.
 — dues from to Mac Carthy Mór, 29.
 — dispute as to lordship of, 31, *et seq.*
 — Crown's title to, 36.
 — partition of, 36-8.
 — later history of, 42-3.
 — power of the Lord in, 85.
 — the migration from Tipperary into, 144.
 — land held by Corca'aidhe in, 159.
 — See also Bantry, Barony of, Bere, Barony of and O'Sullivan Bere.
 Berehaven, Count of, 44.
 Berkeley, Lord, his lands confiscated, 210.
 Bernards of Faha, the Morrogh, 25.
 Betham, Sir W., his pedigree of Mac Carthys of Coshmaing, 52.
 Bissetts, the, 201.
 Blarney, Castle of becomes a Mac Carthy stronghold, 7.
 Blarney, Castle of, position of, 12, 50.

- chief residence of Lord of Muskerry, 93, 128.
- date of acquisition of by Mac Carthys unknown, 112, 127.
- claimed by the Crown, 112N.
- a menace to Cork city, 113.
- isolation of, from Muskerry, 113, 127, 260.
- grant of, to Mac Carthy of Muskerry, 126N, 263.
- See also Blarney, Tuath of.
- Tuath of, ownership of, 259-60.
- lands included in, 260.
- history of, 260N.
- See also Blarney, Castle.
- Bohemia, confiscation in, 292.
- Boleyn, Sir William, 203.
- Bonn, Dr., his account of the land question, 194, *et seq.*
- Bordonine, lordship and boundaries of, 46.
- Breffny, 200.
- Brian Boru, ancestor of the O'Briens, 189, 222.
- Brown, Thomas, 50N.
- Browne, Sir Nicholas, lands of Cosh Maing mortgaged to, 52.
- *Munster in 1597*, cited, 10N, 11N, 13N, 18N, 19N, 55N, 103, 111, 126N, 132, 147N, 149N, 151N, 152N, 272, 278, 288N, 297.
- Sir Valentine, lands held by, 26, 74, 75.
- cited, 8N.
- Brownes, the, lands held by, 44N, 61, 63N.
- Mac Carthy lands mortgaged to, 69.
- estates of, confiscated, 70.
- Bruce, Edward, invasion of, 201.
- "Bungall," a, value of, 178N.
- Burke, Lord, of Castleconnell, 237N
- Mac William, defeat of, at Tooreen Cormac, 7, 146.
- Mac William, of Clanricarde, made an earl, 211.
- Burkes, the, 207.
- their submission to the Crown, 211.
- See also De Burgo and Mac William.
- Butler, Edmund, created Earl of Carrick, 203.
- James, 1st Earl of Ormond, 203.
- Joan, wife of Sir Cormac Mac Teige Mac Carthy, 251, 262.
- Piers, Ormond estates ruled by, 203, 206.
- Butler, Piers, grant of land to, 211.
- Sir William, *Akimfoo* cited, 52.
- Butlers, the, their estates in Connaught neglected, 201.
- descent of, 203.
- land held by, 203.
- small land owners under, 248.
- tenure of, 248-9.
- slaves of, 301.
- C.
- Cairbre Musc, 108.
- Riada, 165.
- Callaghan, Honora ny, 135.
- Cashel, King of Munster, 137N.
- Pobul I., landholders in, 86.
- Barretts' claim to land in, 93.
- Callan, Battle of, 7, 145, 163.
- Canaboy, *see* Canaway.
- Canaway, owners of, 288, 289.
- "Canebeg," meaning of, 21.
- "Canfinny," the. *See* Cean Fine.
- Cantred, extent of, 298.
- Cantref, Irish term corresponding to, 14.
- extent of, 300.
- Capell, Jane, 264.
- Joseph, 264.
- Cappanacushy, Castle of, 47.
- payments due from, 48.
- Carbery, Barony of, position of, 12, 157.
- large proportion of unfree population in, 66N.
- number of Irish proprietors in, in 1641, 71, 181, 234.
- area of, 106, 144, 157, 165.
- ploughlands held by Mac Carthy Septs in, 123.
- divisions of, 158 *et seq.*
- boundary between Muskerry and, 160.
- origin of name, 165.
- land tenure in, 193, 215N, 234, 244, 283.
- sub-divisions of, 300.
- See also Mac Carthy Reagh (of Carbery) "Carbery Beeves," 8N, 168.
- Carbury, Barony of in Sligo, owners of land in, 226.
- Carew, Sir Peter, claims of, 10N, 182
- recognised as heir of Fitz-Stephen, 204.
- Carews, the, land held by, 163.
- claims of, to Mac Carthy country, 181.
- Carlow, owners of, 205, 206, 224.
- Carrick, Earl of, Edmund Butler created, 203.
- Carriganass, Castle of, 34.

- Carrignamuck, seat of tanist of Muskerry, 129, 267.
- Callaghan or Charles Mac Carthy of, 267.
- *See also* Mac Carthy of Muskerry, Callaghan, Lord of.
- Cormac Mac Callaghan Mac Carthy of, 267.
- Carrignavar, part of Muskerry, 108N, 126.
- owners of, 126, 257.
- still held by Mac Carthys, 126, 257.
- lands of, 257.
- confiscation and restoration of, 257.
- the Desmonds' claim to, 257N.
- joined to Cloghroe, 258, 264, 290N.
- sale of, 258.
- Cormac or Charles Mac Carthy of (identity uncertain), 257, 258, 259.
- Donal Mac Carthy of, 257, 267.
- Robert Mac Carthy of, 264, 290N.
- Carthagh, name of Mac Carthy derived from, 3.
- death of, 3, 138N, 139, 141, 153.
- "Cartron," a, extent of, 298.
- Cashel, 3, 4, 137N, 139, 140N, 141N, 147, 161.
- granted to the Church, 142.
- *See* Eoghanacht Cashel.
- Castlehaven, Earl of, 168.
- Castle Lough, 19, 69, 70.
- Catholics, persecution of, 247.
- Cromwell's treatment of, 249.
- provision for loyalist, 254, 255.
- number of, left in possession by Cromwell, 292.
- Cavan, O'Reillys in, 18.
- O'Neill's power over, 18, 201.
- ground of King's title to, 85.
- part of Breffny, 200.
- claimed by Plunketts, 200N.
- state of, in 1607, 238-241.
- inclusion of, in Ulster plantation scheme, 242-43.
- "Cean Fine," the (or Canfinny), position of, 216, 229, 238.
- Charles I., his treatment of land question, 247.
- Chiefs, efforts of, to get clansmen's lands, 114.
- *And see* land system, the.
- Church lands, amounts payable by, to Mac Carthy Mór, 66.
- — small extent of, in Desmond, 77.
- Church lands, inhabitants of, in Muskerry, 253, 281, 288.
- — Inquisition on, in Ulster, 265.
- Churls, *see* unfree population.
- Cinel Aedha, name taken by ruling family of, 23.
- — subject to Kings of Cashel, 161.
- Laeghere, Chiefs of, 23.
- — migration of, to Kerry, 23.
- Clan Conogher, extent of, 124, 288.
- — owners of, 125, 284.
- — *And see* O'Mahonys, the, lands held by.
- Clan Fineen, extent of, 124, 288.
- — *And see* O'Mahonys, the, lands held by.
- — owners of, 125, 284.
- Clancarthy, Countess of, her powers under Act of Explanation, 255, 257, 262.
- Earl of (*see* Mac Carthy Mór), Domnall Mac Carthy Mór, 10, 150 and *passim*.
- — the rod given to O'Callaghan by, 94.
- — holder of title in 1660, 254.
- — his position in Muskerry, 233, 255.
- — his lands forfeited at Revolution, 256, 287.
- — lands granted to, 267, 268, 276, 281, 283, 286, 289, 290.
- — chief rents paid to by Mac Donnell Mac Carthys, 292.
- — *See also* Clancarthy, Countess of.
- Clanricarde, Earl of, chief rent claimed from O'Flahertys by, 202N.
- — position of, as landholder, 212.
- — his claims in Sligo ignored, 227.
- — O'Shaughnessys subject to, 229.
- Clans, splitting up of, 277-8.
- land tenure within, 285.
- Clansmen, efforts of chiefs to get lands from, 114.
- *And see* land system, the.
- Clare, number of stone castles in, 19.
- the O'Callaghans in, 92.
- the O'Briens in, 204, 222.
- Elizabethan land policy in, 221.

- Clare, not affected by Anglo-Norman invasion, 222.
 — clans older than the ruling house in, 223.
 — settlement of, 246, 247.
 — Crown's claims to, 246.
 Clarence, Lionel, Duke of, lands reconquered from the Irish by, 7N, 111, 127, 133.
 — — inherits Ulster and Connaught, 201.
 Cloghda, Castle of, 125, 128, 288.
 Cloghroe, ancestor of family of, 115
 — lands held by Mac Carthy of, 117, 263, 264, 289, 290.
 — the Sept dispossessed, 124, 155N, 225N, 252, 261, 275.
 — Castle of, 127.
 — descent of family of, 155, 264N, 305.
 — joined to Carrignavar, 258, 264, 290N.
 — history of, 260-1, 263.
 — Charles Oge Mac Carthy of, 263, 289' 290.
 — Cormac or Charles Mac Carthy of, 264N.
 — Cormac Oge Mac Carthy of, 260N, 261, 262.
 — Donough Mac Phelim Mac Carthy of, 124, 252, 261, 275.
 — Donough Mac Teige Mac Oyn Mac Carthy of, 124, 252, 261, 275.
 — Eoghan or Owen Mac Carthy of, 112, 132, 156, 252, 261, 275, 278.
 — Fyneen Mac Dermot Mac Oyn Mac Carthy of, 124, 252, 261, 275.
 Clonakilty, massacre of, 254N.
 Cogan, Milo de, 4, 80, 109, 111, 177, 181, 198, 203, 204, 213.
 — Richard de, grant to, 111.
 — Robert, grant made by, 111.
 Cogans, the, lands held by, 109, 111.
 — land yielded to Lords of Muskerry by, 112.
 Collybeg, 166.
 Collymore, 166.
 "Colpe," a, 299.
 Colthurst, John, 281.
 Connaught, rate of chief rent in, 178.
 — settlement of land in, 179, 246, 247.
 — landowners in, 199, 200, 201, 202.
 Connaught, conquest of, 200, 224.
 — racial fusion in, 201.
 — reconquered from the English, 201, 202, 224.
 — vested in the Crown, 202, 210.
 — Elizabethan land policy in, 221.
 — the composition of, 225, *et seq.*
 — the normal division of land in, 226.
 — collective ownership in, 230.
 — much of, held by Protestants, 236N.
 — Crown's claims to under James I., 246.
 — measures of land in, 298-9.
 — King of, date of the last, 9.
 Connell, Morris, 57.
 — Peter, 56.
 Coppinger, Dominck, 136.
 — Edward, 268.
 — John, 273N.
 — Thomas, 268.
 Coppingers, the, Ballincollig held by, 136.
 "Corbs," position of, 265.
 Corca Laidhe, the branches of, 121, 284.
 — — origin of, 158.
 — lands held by, 158, 159, 183.
 — fate of clans of, 165-66.
 — — encroachments on lands of, 284.
 — — modern representative of lands of, 299.
Genealogy of, 159.
 Cork, the kings of, 3, *et seq.* 142.
 — boundaries of kingdom of, 4, 142.
 — grants to Anglo-Normans in, 4, 5, 6, 109 *et seq.* 181.
 — Mac Carthys in, 5, 6, 12, 13, 259, *et passim.*
 — attacks of O'Briens on, 5.
 — the baronies in, 106.
 — no Irish landowners in east, 197.
 — Desmond's claims in, 203.
 — compensation for loyalist Catholics, of 254-5.
 — Bishop of, lands of, 36.
 — — rents received by, 121, 288.
 — City of, Simnel and Warbeck supported by, 114.
 — Earl of, lands held by, 61.
 Cormac's chapel, building of, 139.
 Cosh Maing, lands in, 50, 51N, 49, 52, 53, 57.
 — lands of, granted to Mac Carthy Mór, 52, 179, 236N.
 — difficulty in determining boundaries in, 74, 75.

Cosh Maing, position of, 149.
 — Sliocht Eoghan Mór of, 49-52, 189, 278, 303.
 — Cormac Mac Carthy of, 52N.
 — Donnell Mac Carthy of, 52N.
 — Owen or Eoghan Mac Carthy of, 49, 52N, 148, 149.
 — Teige Mac Dermot Mac Cormac Mac Carthy of, 51.
 "Coshering," meaning of, 16.
 Courceys, Barony of, 106.
 — — *See also* De Courcys, the.
 Courtbracke and Mourne, family of, 115, 262.
 — — lands of, 262, 270.
 — — Donough Mac Cormac Mac Carthy of, 115, 261, 262, 268, 270.
 — — Charles or Cormac Mac Carthy of, 262, 270.
 "Coyne and Livery," meaning of, 16
 Cromwell, Oliver, confiscations of, 38, 42, 48, 254, 292.
 — Catholic landowners swept away by, 249.
 Cromwellians, Mac Carthy lands granted to, 263, 290.
 Crook, Thomas, 287.
 Crookstown, origin of name, 290N.
 Crosbies, the, Castletlough sold to 70 Crown, the, Irish revenues of, in 1575, 65.
 "Cuddy," meaning of, 20, 30, 168.
 Curtis, Professor, acknowledgment to, 9N.

D.

Daniel, Sheely ni, 60N 64.
 Davies, Sir John, 197, 198, 212, 244,
 — — on King's title to Cavan, 85, 243.
 — — Report of, on Le Case de Tanistry, 90.
 — — Account of Monaghan and Fermanagh, 180, 223, 232N, 238-241, 243.
 — — on O'Cahane and O'Neill, 241.
 de Bloet, Petronilla, 6, 143.
 De Burgo, Richard (Earl of Ulster), 200.
 — William, 200.
 — — (3rd Earl of Ulster), 201.
 De Burgos, the, power of, 201.
 — — lands held by, 202, 203, 226.
 De Clares, the, 204.
 De Courcy, John, 199, 200.
 De Courcys, the, lands held by, 106, 111, 163, 183.
 — — encroachments of Mac Carthy Reagh on, 165N.

De Courcys, status of, 184.
 D'Exeters, the, name taken by, 202.
 De Lacy, Hugh, 198.
 De Lacys, the, 200, 245.
 De Genneville, the, 198.
 De Spencers, the, 206.
 De Verdons, the, 198, 199, 200.
 de Vesci, William, 205.
 Deisi, the, 299.
 Derry, *see* Londonderry.
 Deas Mumha, 3, and *See* Desmond.
 Desmond, extent of kingdom of, 8.
 — the last independent ruler of, 10.
 — districts bearing the name 13, 14.
 — organisation of, 19-22.
 — clans occupying, 23.
 — large proportion of unfree population in, 66N.
 — status of landowners in, 72, 190, 192, 193, 215N, 233, 248.
 — division of, 151.
 — fights for the kingship of, 162.
 — number of landowners in, in 1641, 233.
 — division of, into three and a half baronies, 300.
 — *See also* Mac Carthy Mór.
 — Earls of, overlordship of the, 8.
 — — their jurisdiction in Kerry, 12, 13.
 — — relations of Mac Carthy clans with, 18N, 114, 126, 150, 179, 182, 204.
 — — interfere *re* lordship of Bere and Bantry, 32.
 — — clans tributary to, 35, 41, 42, 46, 46N, 49, 61, 62, 63, 64, 131, 168, 204.
 — — clans joining in the rebellion of 46, 51, 61, 62N, 185, 233, 234, 253.
 — — the O'Dalys hereditary poets to, 63, 122, 172.
 — — fighting men of O'Keefes slain by, 94, 102, 233.
 — — lands of the Cogans granted to, 111.
 — — defeated by Mac Carthys, 113, 182, 204.
 — — Yorkist sympathies of, 114.
 — — and the Barrett Lordship, 136, 208.
 — — claims of, 182N, 203, 204, 207, 257N.
 — — *See also* FitzGerald, the.

- Desmond, Ellen, Countess of, 42.
 — kings of, Cormac, 4, 139, 140, 141, 153.
 — — Cormac Fionn, 6, 7, 144, 145, 154.
 — — Dermot, 4, 5, 141, 142, 153.
 — — Dermot Cluasach, 6, 143, 144.
 — — Donnell Mór, 5, 143, 144.
 — — Finghin, 5, 6, 143.
 — — Tadhg, 3, 140, 141.
 See also Mac Carthy Mór.
 Dillons, the, 198, 199.
 Diocese, the, older divisions represented by, 299.
 Docalain Mc Cearaviulaluin, 189.
 Donegal, owners of, 199, 201, 237, 248.
 — not affected by Anglo-Norman invasion, 222.
 — grants to natives in, 244.
 — vested in the Crown, 241, 242.
 — the tuath in, 299.
 Donnellan, John, 276.
 Donoughmore, 265-6.
 — Earls of, *see* Hely-Hutchinson.
 "Dowgollo," meaning of, 20.
 Down, owners of, 199, 201, 248.
 — English expelled from, 224.
 — Survey, the, 250, 293, 297, and *passim*.
 "Drachma," a, value of, 173.
 Drishane, lands of, 252, 272, *et seq.*
 — family of, 272, 278-9.
 — Castle of, 128, 272.
 — landowners in, 272-4, 277, 280.
 — lands held by Lords of Muskerry in parish of, 276.
 — new lessees in, in 1688, 276.
 — surrender and re-grant of lands of allowed, 278-9.
 — division of, 279.
 — Callaghan Mac Teige Mac Carthy of, 274N.
 — Charles Mac Callaghan Mac Carthy of, 273, 274, 280.
 — Charles or Cormac Mac Teige Mac Carthy of, 274N.
 — Cormac Mac Donough of, 274N.
 — Dermot Mac Teige Mac Carthy of (founder), 128, 272, 278.
 — Dermot Mac Teige Mac Carthy of, 274N, 275.
 — Donough Mac Carthy of, 276.
 — Donough Mac Cormac Mac Carthy, 275.
 — Donough Mac Owen Mac Carthy of; had best challenge to Muskerry, 156.
 Drishane, Donough Mac Owen Mac Carthy owner of in 1641, 272, 273, 274N, 276, 277, 279.
 — Donough Mac Teige Mac Carthy of, 272N.
 — Donough Mac Teige Mac Carthy of Inchinorrig and Prohusbeg, 280, 281.
 — Johanna Mac Carthy, 279N.
 — Owen Mac Donough Mac Carthy of, 272, 273, 280.
 — Owen Mac Teige Mac Carthy, 116, 119, 272N, 274N, 279.
 — Phelim Mac Teige Mac Carthy of, 274N.
 — Teige Mac Cormac Mac Carthy of, 274, 280N.
 — Teige Mac Owen Mac Carthy of, 272, 274N, 278.
 — Teige Mac Phelim Mac Carthy of, 273, 280.
 Duhallo, Barony of, rights of Mac Carthy Mór in, 13, 65, 94, 95.
 — extent of, 13N, 97, 106.
 — Barony of, position of, 50, 79, 93.
 — — laid waste by Sir H. Sidney, 93.
 — clans holding land in, 79, 93N, 94, 96, 97.
 — clansmen's lands in, given to chiefs, 71, 72, 234.
 — part of Magunihy now included in, 77.
 — Irish form of name, 79.
 — measures of land in, 96, 97, 298.
 — government tax on, 96.
 — fate of under Act of Settlement, 99, 100.
 — Barony of, standing force of, 103.
 — — separation of, from Muskerry, 130.
 — — See also Mac Carthy of Duhallo.
 Dunboy, Castle of, 28, 31, 34, 36, 38, 66N.
 — Count of. See Berehaven, Count of.
 Dundaireirke, Castle of, 282.
 Dungle, position of, 54.
 — See also Mac Carthys, Septs of, Sliocht Cormac of Dungle.
 Dunkerron, Barony of, changes in boundaries of, 14N, 77.
 — — clans holding lands in, 25N, 27, 41N, 58, 65.

Dunkerron, Barony of, payment due from, to Mac Carthy Mór, 49.
 — — proprietors in, in 1641, 72.
 — Castle of, 47.
 Dunloe, Castle of, 47, 48.
 Dursey Island, massacre of, 39, 66N.

E.

Edward IV, land inherited by, 199, 201.
 Elizabeth, Queen, lands claimed by, 35, 36, 60.
 — land policy of, 182, 218 *et seq.*
 — her attitude to the Irish, 209.
 Ely O'Carroll, extent of a ploughland in, 298.
 Eoghan Mór, descendants of 23, Eoghanachts, 22, 80, 121, 140N, 159.
 Eoghanacht Cashel, 3, 23, 137N, 140N, 142, 160, 161.
 — Donnchadha Mac Carthy, King of, 140N.
 Eoghanacht Loch Lein, 23, 24, 137N.
 — origin of, 137N.
 "Erenaghs," position of, 265.
 Exchequer Memoranda, 7N, 110, 129N, 133N.

F

Fagan, 89.
 Fercal, extent of the ploughland in, 298.
 Fermanagh, part of Kingdom of Oirghialla, 199.
 — power of the O'Neills over, 201.
 — O'Donnell's claim to, 201N.
 — Kildare's claim to, 208N.
 — not affected by Anglo-Norman invasion, 222, 240.
 — the Maguires in, 222N, 223, 239, 240 242N.
 — large number of claims to land in 223.
 — state of, in 1607, 238.
 — number of proprietors in, 240.
 — inclusion of, in Ulster plantation scheme, 242.
 — vested in the Crown, 243.
 — grants to natives. n, 243.
 — Church lands in, 265N.
 — unit of measurement in, 298.
 Fermoy, Barony of, O'Keeffe said to be seated in, 80.

Fermoy, Barony of, territory represented by, 106.
 — — part of, owned by Barretts, 126.
 Ferris, name said to be assumed by a branch of Moriarities, 63N.
 — Ferris Mc Owen, 63.
 — Morris, 63N.
 — Murriagh Mc Owen, 63, 77.
 — probable identity with Murtagh Mc Owen, 76.
 Feudal system, the English assumption of existence of, 213, 214.
 Ffwydye. *See* Whyddy.
 Fish, dues paid on, 167.
 Fitzgerald, John, Baron of Offaly, land held by, 205.
 — Sir John, 257.
 Fitzgeralds, the, rents payable to head of, defeat of at Callan, , boundary of lands of, 6, 7, 12.
 — efforts of Lords of Muskerry to free themselves from, 107, 113.
 — defeat of, at Mourne Abbey, 113.
 — intermarriage of, with Mac Carthys, 154.
 — their estates in Connaught neglected, 201.
 — their power in Munster, 203.
 — claims of, in Munster, 204.
 — in Sligo, 226.
 — *See also* Desmond, Earls of.
 Fitz Henry, Meiler, Eoghanacht Loch Lein granted to, 24.
 Fitz Martins, Philip, 93N.
 Fitz Maurice, Sir James, rebellion of, 10N, 134.
 — Thomas, 146N.
 Fitz Maurices, Marquesses of Lansdowne, acquisition of Bere and Glanerought by, 43.
 — intermarriage of, with Mac Carthys, 153.
 — treatment of, after Desmond Rebellion, 236.
 Fitz Stephen, Robert, lands granted to, 4, 80, 109, 181, 203, 198, 204.
 — families receiving grants from, 177N, 204, 213.
 Fitz Thomas, John, land held by, 146.
 Fitz Walter, Theobald, *see* Walter.
 Fitz William, Andrew Lynch, 230.
 Fitz Williams, Sir W., a settlement by, in Monaghan, 239.
 "Followers," position of, 121, 122.

Fox, The, agreement of, with Mac Geoghegan, 67.
 Foyd. See Whyddy.
 Freeholders, distinction between unfree population and, 301.
 French, Nicholas Oge, 230.
 "Fuidhir," the, See unfree population, the, 122.

G

"Gallogoloh," meaning of, 20.
 "Gallowglasses," meaning of, 16.
 — cost of maintenance of, 104-5.
 — status of, 105.
 — clans holding position of, 105, 301.
 Galway, settlers in, 200.
 — rulers of, 202.
 — English expelled from, 224.
 Galway, Sir Geoffrey, 75.
 "Garemsloeg," meaning of, 20.
 Gavelkind, operation of, 22, 34, 58, 71, 231, 232.
 — condemned by Irish judges, 231.
 Geraldines, the. See Fitz Gerald, the.
 Gillman, H. Webb, cited, 81, 82N, 83N, 89, 115N, 121N, 128N, 250, 288, 290N.
 Giollamochuda, ancestor of Mac Gillycuddy, *q.v.* 45.
 Giraldus Cambrensis, cited, 14, 109, 198, 298.
 Glanerought, Barony of, O'Sullivan in, 27, 38, 40.
 — — later history of, 43.
 — — landowners in, 58, 59, 63, 189.
 — refugee Irish in, 163.
 Glynn, the Knight of, lands restored to, after rebellion, 236.
 Goggin, Irish form of Cogan, 109.
 Gold. See Gould.
 Goold. See also Gould.
 Goold, Edmond Fitz William, 273N.
 — James, 38.
 — Pierce, 289.
 Gould. See also Goold.
 Gould, Anstace, 267N, 270.
 — David, 280N.
 — Edmund, 280N.
 — James, 267N, 268, 270.
 — Mary, 267N, 270.
 Goulds, the, freeholders in Barretts, 136.
 Gormanston, Lord, claims of, to Leitrim, 200N.

Greatrix, William, 280N, 281N, 282N.
 Grey, Lord Leonard, his treaties with the chiefs in Leinster, 210.
 "White Groat," a, value of, 27N.
 "Gwestva," meaning of, 21.

H

Hawes, Richard, 291N.
 Healys, the, 266.
 Hebrides, the, mercenaries hired from, 105, 121.
 Hegans, the, lands held by, in Muskerry, 117, 118.
 — See also Mac Egans, the.
 Hely-Hutchinson, origin of family of, 266.
 Henry II, his invasion of Cork. See Cork, grants to Anglo-Normans in.
 — land policy of, 197.
 Henry VII, grant from, 115N.
 Henry VIII, report to, on Ireland, 1
 — grant of Muskerry by, 114.
 — state of affairs found by, 196, 197.
 — his land policy, 182, 208 *et seq.*, 244.
 — his treatment of the Welsh, 209.
 — acclaimed King of Ireland, 211.
 — his attitude to Tanistry, 214, 215.
 Herbert, Agnes, marriage of, with Florence Mac Carthy Mór, 71.
 Herbert, Sir Wm., Report of, on Desmond 19, 27, 29, 45N, 49, 52N, 55, 58, 61, 65, 67, 78, 93N, 106.
 Herberts, the, settle at Muckcross, 70.
 — Mac Carthy demesne lands left to, 152.
 Hodnetts, the, 163, 183.
 Holy Cross Abbey, foundation of, 142.
 Hooper, Sir Thomas, 124, 288.
 Hussey, John, 56.
 — Maurice, 70.
 — Peter, 56.
 Hy-Many, chiefs' powers in, 302.

I

Ibane, Barony of, 106, 183.
 — chief rents from, 185.
 Iflanloe, Barry's claims to, 111N, 125.

- Íranloe, Mac Swinys, rights in, 121N.
 — owners of, 123, 124, 125, 183, 284, 287.
 — area of, 124, 288.
 — origin of name, 160, 284.
 Inchirahilly, Dermot Mac Teige Mac Carthy of, 268, 289.
 — grantees of, at Restoration, 290.
 India, lawyers' mistake as to land system in, 215.
 Inisfallen, Priory of, 66.
 Ireland, Surrey's estimate of size of, 209.
 Irish, the, debarred from holding land, 197, 202, 207.
 — landholders in defiance of law 202, 203, 205, 206, 207.
 — suggested extermination of, 208.
 — to be allowed to hold land, 209, 210, 211, 244.
 — submission of the chiefs to the Crown, 211.
 Ivagh, or Ivahagh, owners of, 165, 172.
 Iveagh, settlement of, 220.
 Iveleary, rights of the Mac Swinys in, 121N.
 — owners of, 123, 252, 284, 286.
 — position of, 125.
 — rights of the tanist of Muskerry in, 126, 129.
 — dues payable by, 130.
 — origin of name, 166.
 — position of Lords of Muskerry in, 285.
 — castles in, 286.
 — fate of, under Act of Settlement, 286.
 Iveragh, Barony of, changes in boundaries of, 14N, 77.
 — — owners of land in, 25, 27, 51, 53, 54, 55, 57, 146.
 — — payment to Mac Carthy Mór from O'Sullivan lands in, 48.
 — — rents of, paid to Geraldines, 6.
 — — proprietors in, in 1641, 72.

J

- James I, King, his treatment of land question, 244 *et seq.*
 John, King, grants of lands by, 5, 24.
 Joyce, Edmund Mc Tibbott, 230.
 — Henry McFiagh, 230.
 — Moyler McHenry, 230, 231.
 — Moyler Mac Richard, 230.
 — Richard Oge, 230.

- Joyces, the, position of, as land-holders, 180, 229.
 — origin of, 228.
 — division of lands of, 230.

K

- Kanaboy. *See* Canaway.
 Kanturk, chief house of Lord of Duhallow, 92, 97, 99.
 — taken by Earl of Kildare, 151.
 "Kearnty," meaning of, 20.
 Keating, pedigrees in appendix to O'Mahony's edition of, cited, 40N, 62N, 72, 138N, 145, 148, 154.
 — on land measures, 298, 299.
 — on the "enslaved clans," 302.
 Kenmare, Earl of, former Mac Carthy lands held by, 50N, 52, 70N, 149.
 Kerry, the migration into, 5, 22, 23.
 — Anglo-Norman invasion of, 6, 181.
 — clans holding lands in, 11-13, 63, 65, 204, 223, 269, 274.
 — variation in extent of plough-lands in, 15.
 — present position of the O'Sullivan in, 47, 48.
 — Desmond's claim to, 203.
 — Kerry, the Knight of, lands of, 12N.
 — — — chief rents claimed by, 46, 182.
 — the Lord of, murder of Dermot Mac Carthy by, 58, 148.
 — — land held by, in 1641, 77.
 — O'Connor, Cormac Mac Carthy murdered by, 140N.
 Kilbrittain, castle of, 8N, 176, 177N, 183.
 Kildare, Earls of, opposition of, to Henry VIII, 114.
 — attack on Mac Carthy territory by, 151.
 — — lands claimed by, 182N, 200N, 208, 226, 227.
 — — lands held by, 203.
 — — power of, 205.
 — — tribute paid to, 207.
 — — effect of their fall, 210.
 — — grant to, in Longford, 245.
 Kilkenny, castle of, chief seat of the Ormonds, 206.
 — County, O'Brennans in, 197.
 Killaha, Abbey of, 12N, 66.
 Kilmallock, Lord (second Lord), land held by, 133, 291.

- Kilmallock, Lord, property confiscated, 137.
 — Sir D. Sarsfield, first Lord, letter to, 134N.
 — supports the Barretts, 136
 Kilshallow, owners of, 174.
 Kinelea, Barony of, clan territory represented by, 106.
 — owners of, 125, 183.
 — origin of name, 159, 160.
 Kinelmeaky, Barony of, clan territory represented by, 106.
 — — claimed by the Barrys, 111N, 125.
 — owners of, 125, 165, 183.
 — confiscation of, 185.
 — claims of Mac Carthy Reagh to 185 *et seq.*
 — — origin of name, 160.
 King, use of the title of, 2, 9.
 Kingdoms, modern dioceses represent old, 299.
 King's County, confiscations in, 111N.
 — "plantation" in, 247.
 Kinsale, landing of Spaniards at, 32.
 — compensation for loyalist Catholics of, 254-5.
 — Lords of. *See* De Courcys, the.

L

- "Lady's Gold," meaning of, 16.
 Lambeth: *Carew MSS.* at, cited, 3N, 10N, 11 *et seq.* 28, 41N, 45, 52N, 53N, 62N, 98N, 103, 116 *et seq.*, 128N, 129, 138N, 141, 143N, 145, 151N, 152N, 154, 189N, 261, 278, 297, 303-5.
 Land System, the, organisation of a Gaelic lordship, 15-22, 33-5.
 — claims of the lord on extinction of subject clans, 56N.
 — substitution of English for Irish, 81.
 — Tanistry and the Gaelic, 85, 91.
 — changes in, under English law, 177 *et seq.*
 — the question of ownership, 188 *et seq.*, 217, 218, 285, 286.
 — in Connaught, 190-2.
 — in Desmond, 190-3.
 — in Muskerry and Carbery, 193.
 — its connection with politics, 195.
 — history of, 197 *et seq.*
 — in non-invaded districts, 223.

- Land System, the, advantages and disadvantages of the introduction of the English, 214, 215.
 — Henry VIII's mistaken view of the Irish, 215
 — result arrived at by Elizabeth's policy, 235
 — division of lands under the Irish, 279
 — *See also* Tanistry.
 Land, allotment of conquered, 50.
 — erratic assessment of, 51.
 — fate of, on extinction of a sept, 58.
 — revenues of demesne, 67.
 — determination of boundaries of, 74 *et seq.*
 Lansdowne, Marquesses of. *See* Fitz Maurices, the.
 Le Poer. *See* Power.
 Leinster, King of, 9, 205.
 — ceded to Henry II, 197.
 — ownership of, 205, 206, 207.
 — suggested banishment of Irish from, 208.
 — vested in the Crown, 210.
 — Crown's claims in, 245.
 Leitrim, confiscations in, 111N.
 — owners of, 200.
 — claims to, 200, 201N, 208.
 — not affected by Anglo-Norman invasion, 222.
 — "plantation" of, 247.
 — the Barony in, 300.
 Leix, owners of, 206.
 Limerick, Norman invasion of, 6.
 — Kingdom of, 142.
 — owners of land in, 203, 205, 222.
 Loch Lein. *See* Eoghanacht Loch Lein.
 Lombard, James Oge 271.
 — John 112.
 — William 271
 Lombards, the lands held by, 127, 271.
 Londonderry, rulers of, 199, 201, 237.
 — dispute as to ownership of, 212, 241.
 — vested in the Crown, 242.
 — grants to natives in, 244.
 Long, Darby, 290.
 — John, 260N.
 Longford, confiscations in, 111N.
 — "plantation" of, 181, 245, 247, 285.
 — fixity of tenure in, 216.
 — English expelled from, 224.
 Louth part of Kingdom of the Oirghialla, 199.

- M.
- Mac Auliffe, Dermot Mac Melaghlín, 94.
 — Florence, 102.
 — Melaghlín Mac Dermodie, 93N.
 Mac Auliffes, Lord of Duhallow's claims on, 96
 — the, origin of, 80.
 — take part in Desmond rebellion and O'Neill's war, 93.
 — last head of, 94.
 — the, their lands forfeited, 94, 96, 236, 248N.
 — land held by, 79, 94N, 96, 97, 101, 102.
 — pedigree of, 102.
 — "ordinary forces" kept by the chief, 103.
 — their lands, vested in the Crown, 233.
 Mac Carthy, Callaghan Mac Donough, 100-1.
 — Callaghan Mac Donough (of Kahirrow), 273N.
 — Sir Charles, last representative of Cosh Maing, 52.
 — Charles, or Cormac (of Blarney), 127, 287.
 — Charles, or Cormac, Mac Dermot Mac Teige, 291N.
 — Charles Mac Donough (of Kilmeedy), 274.
 — Cormac (son of Tadhg na Mainistragh), 150.
 — Cormac Mac Callaghan, 291N.
 — Cormac Mac Dermot, 142.
 — Cormac Mac Donough, 98, 99, 101.
 — Cormac Mac Owen Mac Cormac Mac Teige (of Barretts), 133.
 — Cormac Mac Teige, tanist of Muskerry, murder of, 281.
 — Cormac Mac Teige (of Ballea), 264N.
 — Cormac Oge (of Muskerry), son of Sir Cormac Mac Teige, 250, 251, 262, 263, 264N.
 — Daniel, or Donnell (of Carrig-
 navar,) 69.
 — Col. Daniel (of Ballincarrig), 69.
 — Count Daniel (of Clan Dermot), 188.
 — Daniel Mac Cormac (of Iveragh), 56.
 — Daniel Mac Oge, 77.
 — Daniel Mac Teige Duff, 60N.
 — Daniel Mac Teige Mac Donnell in Barretts, 133.
 Mac Carthy, Denis (of Coshmaing), 52.
 — Denis (son of Florence II), 70.
 — Denis (of Downeen,) 273N, 279N.
 — Dermot (son of Cormac Fionn), 73, 145, 154.
 — Dermot Mac Donough Oge (of Downeen,) 273, 279N.
 — Dermot Mac Donough (of Dromony), 280N.
 — Dermot Mac Fyneen, 58N, 61.
 — Dermot Mór (identity uncertain), 148.
 — Dermot (of Tralee), 58, 148, 149N.
 — Dermot Roe (identity uncertain), 148.
 — Diarmaid son of Tadhg "of the Monastery," 150, 153.
 — Doncadh an Droman, 291.
 — Donnell (natural son of Earl of Clancarty), 68, 69, 73.
 — Donnell Fionn, 53N, 145.
 — Donnell Oge (of Ballincarrig), 69.
 — Donough (son of Cormac Mór), ancestor of Ardcanaghty, 150.
 — Donough (ancestor of Clan Fada), 156, 225N.
 — Donough Mac Cormac (of Duhallow,) 97, 98N, 101.
 — Donough Mac Cormac (son of Sir Cormac Mac Teige), 116, 251, 262, 275N.
 — Donough Mac Daniel 286.
 — Donough Mac Dermot (of Dromony,) 280N 282N.
 — Donough Mac Donough, 100N.
 — Donough Mac Finnin, 59N.
 — Donough Mac Fyneen (in Duhallow), 101.
 — Colonel Donough Mac Fyneen, 58N, 59N.
 — Donough Oge (landholder in Duhallow), 100.
 — Donough Mac Owen (of Gortiglogh), 271, 272.
 — Donough Mac Teige (of Kilmeedy), 274N.
 — Donough Mac Teige (of Inchin-
 orrig,) 280, 281.
 — Donough Mac Teige Mac Oyn (of Cloghroe), 261.
 — Elizabeth Mac Fyneen, 59N, 60N.
 — Ellen, 10, 69, 70, 70N, 152, 269.
 — Miss Evelina, last representative of Clan Donnell Roe, 53.
 — Finghin, King of Desmond 5, 143.

- Mac Carthy, Finghin, Mac Dermod,
ancestor of Mac Fyneen, 148
- Fineen, 162.
- Fyneen Mac Dermod Mac Oyn
(of Cloghroe), 261.
- Florence, Tanist of Carbery, 10.
- — land held by, 69.
- — his claim to title of Mac
Carthy Mór, 73.
- — marriage of, 152.
- — his writings, 157.
- — grant of "Carbery beeves"
to, 182.
- — Elizabeth's treatment of, 209.
- — *Life and Letters* of, cited, 11,
15N, 19N, 26, 49N, 56, 68N,
69N, 70N, 71N, 138N, 152,
174.
- Florence Mac Dermot, 59N.
- Florence, or Fynyne (of
Downeen,) 273N.
- Fyneen, 286.
- Fyneen Mac Dermod, land held
by in 1641, 59N, 60N.
- John Mac Fyneen, 286.
- Justin, Lord Mountcashel, 258.
- Mac Carthy, Mac Donough. *See*
Mac Carthy of Duhallow.
- Mac Donnell, sept of, 132, 133,
291, 292.
- Murtough Mac Donough, 277N.
- Owen Mac Dermod, 292N.
- Owen Mac Donnell (in Duhallow)
101.
- Owen Mac Donnell (in Barretts),
292N.
- Owen Mac Donough (of Kil-
corney,) 271, 272.
- Owen Mac Fyneen, 51N.
- Owen Mac Phelim, 291.
- Owen Oge, 57N.
- Randal, history of descendants
of, 70.
- Mr. Randall Mac Fyneen, 59.
- Sheely, 56.
- Tadhg Roe, 142, 143.
- Teige, of Ballea, 264N.
- Teige Mac Cormac (of Aglish,)
266, 267, 291.
- Teige Mac Dermod (of Aglish,)
268.
- Teige Mac Dermod (of Muskerry,)
115, 250, 263.
- Teige Mac Owen, 286.
- Teige O'Carthy, 100N.
- the Blessed Thaddeus, 177.
- Judge Samuel Trant, styled
Mac Carthy Mór, 55.
- *The Mac Carthys of Munster*,
by, cited 52N, 53, 139N,
171, 187, 188, 258N, 264N,
275N, 279N, 283.
- Mac Carthy Mór, meaning of
the name, 2, 9, 10.
- Donnell Mór, English expelled
from Limerick by, 5.
- — descendants of, 143, 144.
- Finghin, battle of Callan won
by, 7, 146, 163.
- rents paid by to Earls of
Desmond, 8, 42, 61, 181-2.
- Mac Carthy Reagh independent
of, 8, 145.
- submission of to the Crown
10, 151.
- made Earl of Clancarty, 10, 151.
- survey of lands of, 11, 12, 13, 14.
- rights and lands of, in Duhallow,
13, 65, 78.
- rights and lands of, in Muskerry,
13, 78, 106.
- basis of his power, 15.
- place of his inauguration as
overlord, 15N.
- small extent of territory directly
ruled by, 18.
- alliance of his subject clans
with Earl of Desmond, 18N.
- rights of, as lord of Desmond,
19-22.
- demesne lands of, 19, 67, 68
et seq., 71, 123.
- lands in possession of the
last, 19.
- the O'Connells, hereditary
warders of Ballycarbery,
under, 25N.
- his claims to lands of
O'Donoghue Mór, 26.
- lands paying tribute to, 26, 27,
28 *et seq.*, 35, 40, 41,
45N, 46, 48, 50, 53N, 55,
59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66,
93, 94, 131, 208.
- supporters of English against
Desmonds, 26, 179.
- unbroken line of succession
to lands of, 33, 138.
- rebellion of lords of Cosh Maing
against, 51.
- septs siding with O'Sullivan
Bere against, 55N.
- his claim to lands of Sliocht
Donnell Brick, 55, 56.
- the O'Dalys, hereditary poets to,
63, 122, 172.
- total revenues of, 65-68.
- agreement between O'Sullivan
Bere and, 66-7.

- Mac Carthy Mór, amounts due to, from church lands, 66.
- fate of lands of, at his death, 68.
 - result of the Survey on position of, 68 *et seq.*
 - title taken by Florence Mac Carthy of Carbery, 69.
 - residence of, 70.
 - intermarriage of, with foreigners, 71, 153.
 - claims to the dignity of, 72, 73, 98, 145N, 151.
 - land held by, in 1641, 76.
 - number of "countries" subject to, 78.
 - "ordinary forces" kept by, 103.
 - total fighting forces of, 104, 150N.
 - efforts of Muskerry to free itself from, 107, 113, 114.
 - Mashanaglass held by, 13, 106, 121, 268.
 - extent of lands ruled over by, 138N.
 - climax of power of, 149, 152.
 - son of Knight of Kerry slain by, 151.
 - end of lordship of, 152.
 - longevity of line of, 152-3.
 - claim of, to lands of fallen followers, 178.
 - lands granted to, after Desmond rebellion, 179.
 - land tenure in territories of, 233.
 - his overlordship of Muskerry, 13, 106, 114, 268, 269.
 - position of O'Mahonys under, 301.
 - Charles, 71.
 - Cormac, ? The Aithchleirech, 7.
 - Cormac Fionn, 6, 73, 133, 143, 144, 145, 162.
 - Cormac Ladhrach, 151, 153, 154.
 - Cormac Mór, 7, 49, 147, 148, 149, 152, 153.
 - Dermot, King of Desmond, 4, 5, 142, 143, 153, 198.
 - Dermot Cluasach, 6, 143.
 - Donnell (son of Tadhg Liath), 138N, 151.
 - Donnell an Druimin, 10, 151, 153.
 - Donnell, Earl of Clancarthy, 10, 28, 150, 151, 153, 154, 268.
 - Donnell Gott, 8, 144, 145, 162, 163, 284.
- Mac Carthy Mór, Donnell Mór na Curra, 5, 143, 144.
- Donnell Oge I, 148, 154.
 - Donnell Oge II, 24, 147, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154.
 - Donnell Oge III, 150, 153.
 - Donnell Roe, 8, 62N, 138N, 144, 147, 148, 153, 154, 162.
 - — on English side at Callan, 7, 146.
 - Finghin, "of Ringrone," 7, 145, 146, 163.
 - Florence, 70.
 - Tadhg Liath, 150, 151, 153.
 - Tadhg na Leamhna, 151.
 - Tadhg na Mainistreach, 150, 153.
 - *See also* Desmond, Kings of.
- Mac Carthy of Duhallow, descent of 73, 192, 130, 144, 145, 148, 154, 303.
- his claim to title of Mac Carthy Mór, 73, 98, 145N.
 - dues payable by, 13, 65, 78.
 - lands of, 85, 92, 93, 97, 100.
 - dues payable to, 85, 95, 96, 100.
 - rival claimants to lordship, 93, 97, 98, 101.
 - last reference to, 100.
 - "ordinary forces" kept by, 103.
 - his application for leave to surrender and obtain grant of lands, 232.
 - all clan lands granted to, 248.
 - origin of separate chieftainship of, 278.
 - Colonel Charles Mac Carthy, Lord, 100.
 - Dermot Mac Donough, Lord, 71-72.
 - Dermot Mac Owen, Lord, 73, 93N, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101.
 - Dermot Oge, Lord, 99, 100.
 - Donough Oge, Lord, 97.
 - *See also* Duhallow, Barony of.
- Mac Carthy of Muskerry, supporter of the English Government, 73, 107, 113, 114, 126, 233.
- his claim to hold lands from the Crown, 78, 114, 207N.
 - forces kept by, 103, 104.
 - extent of lands held by, 106 *et seq.*
 - origin of name, 107.
 - last to fall of great Gaelic houses, 107.
 - resemblance to a feudal lord, 107, 120.

- Mac Carthy of Muskerry, Cogan lands claimed by, 111.
- lands seized from the English by, 111, 112.
- buildings erected by, 112.
- relations of, with Cork City, 113.
- defeat of Desmond by Mac Carthy Reagh and, 113, 182.
- patent of denizenation received by, 114, 115N.
- grant to, in 1578, 114, 115, 123.
- succession to lordship under will of 14th lord, 115, 250, 263, 267.
- usurpation of the lordship, 115, 251, 263, 267.
- lands held by, 116 *et seq.*, 124, 135, 175N, 257, 260, 261, 266, 268, 276-87, 292N.
- surrender and re-grant of lands of, 116, 123, 250, 263.
- clans holding lands under, 116 *et seq.*, 185, 252-3.
- Earl of Clancarthy's rights to Mshanaglass ignored by, 121N.
- the O'Dalys, lands of, under, 122
- large demesne lands of, 122, 123, 253.
- endeavours of, to dispossess the O'Learys, 123, 251, 252, 285.
- castles of, 127 *et seq.*
- rights and dues of the tanist of, 129.
- murder of third Lord by Barrys, 129N.
- descent of, 129, 130, 144, 148, 149, 154, 156, 251, 255N, 256N, 303.
- dues payable to, 130-133, 280N, 281, 282N.
- Barrett territory taken by, 131-2, 208.
- family murders, 156.
- all clan lands granted to, 126N, 221, 233, 244, 283.
- relationship of Septs to chief, 225N.
- Septs of, 251-3.
- And see* Mac Carthys, the, Septs of.
- part taken by, in rebellion of 1641, 254.
- lands confiscated by Cromwell, 254.
- lands restored at Restoration, 254.
- effect of Act of Explanation on estates of, 255.
- Mac Carthy of Muskerry, lands of, forfeited under William III., 256.
- lands acquired by, at Restoration, 269, 270 *et passim*.
- becomes Earl of Clancarthy, 254.
- 17th Lord created a Viscount, 254N.
- anglicisation of names of, 274.
- murder of 7th Lord, 156, 261, 278.
- expulsion of 9th Lord, 278.
- conflict of 17th Lord with O'Mahonys, 287.
- Callaghan, 12th Lord, 156.
- 15th Lord, 115, 250, 251, 263, 267.
- See also* Carrignamuck, Callaghan Mac Carthy of.
- Charles James (2nd Earl of Clancarthy), 255, 262.
- Cormac Laidher, Lord, 112, 113, 114, 115N, 127, 156, 251, 261, 278.
- Mac Corinac, 17th Lord, and 1st Viscount, 130, 254N, 255N, 256N, 287, 288.
- Mac Dermot (9th Lord), 156, 278.
- 16th Lord, 112N, 115, 116, 121N, 123, 126N, 128, 175N, 233, 250, 251, 257, 260N, 262-3, 267, 269, 283, 285.
- Mac Teige, 14th Lord, 88, 114-15, 123-6, 155N, 175, 233, 250-52, 260-62, 267, 269, 270, 273, 275, 283, 285.
- Oge, 10th Lord, 78, 113, 114, 115N, 156, 225N, 251N, 256, 278.
- Dermot Mac Teige, 13th Lord, 129N, 156, 256.
- Mór, 1st Lord, 112, 129, 149, 154, 155, 225N.
- Phelim, Lord, 281.
- Teige Mac Cormac, 6th Lord, 155, 156.
- Oge, 11th Lord, 104, 113, 114, 155, 156, 251N, 256.
- See also* Muskerry, Barony of. Mac Carthy Reagh (of Carbery). origin of, 8, 144, 303.
- free from dependence on Mac Carthy Mór, 8, 145, 157
- relations of, with Earls of Desmond, 8, 181-2.
- overlordship of, 17
- The O'Dalys hereditary poets to, 63, 122.

- Mac Carthy Reagh (of Carbery),
 "ordinary forces," kept by,
 103.
 — total fighting forces of, 104
 — defeat of Desmond by Mac
 Carthy of Muskerry, and,
 182.
 — demesne lands of, 123, 170,
 176, 177N, 184.
 — area of lands under, 138N, 144,
 165.
 — subdivision of lands of, 158.
 — sources of information as to, 157.
 — meaning of name, 165.
 — dues payable to, 168, 169, 171,
 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178.
 — his claim to lands of fallen
 followers, 177.
 — position of sub-chiefs of, 179.
 — his support of the English,
 179N, 186.
 — his loss of power under Elizabeth,
 183.
 — chief residence of, 183.
 — Barrys, conquered by, 184.
 — his claim to O'Mahony lands,
 185, 186.
 — changes in position of, 187.
 — a branch of, in Tipperary, 187.
 — receives a French title, 187.
 — date of extinction of line of, 187.
 — grant claimed to have been
 received by, 207.
 — descent of Septs of, 235.
 — Denis, Lord, 187.
 — Donnell na Pipi, Lord, 187N.
 — Count Nicholas Francis Joseph,
 187.
 — Owen, Lord, 186.
 — *See also* Carbery, Barony of.
 Mac Carthys, the, origin of, 3, 22,
 23.
 — lands held by, 5, 6, 23, 176N.
 — migration of, from Tipperary,
 5, 24, 161.
 — nature of rule over terri-
 tories inhabited by, 18.
 — relations of, with the Earls of
 Desmond, 18N, 182, 204.
 — alternate rulers of Eoghanacht
 Cashel, 23.
 — position of, in Munster, 23,
 141N, 142, 204.
 — relations of O'Donoghues and
 O'Sullivan's with, 24.
 — Moriarties driven westward by,
 63N.
 — liability of, for Government
 forces, 104.
 — Carrignavar still held by, 126.
- Mac Carthys, the, encroachments
 of on Barrett lands, 132.
 — growth of power of, 137, 222.
 — pedigrees of, 138 *et seq.*
 — a long-lived race 141.
 — raids of, on the invaders, 146,
 147.
 — the, still in Kerry and Cork, 147.
 — War between O'Briens and, 161.
 — position of demesne lands of, 176.
 — their support of the English,
 181.
 — increase of Septs among, 216N;
 — number of, with lands in
 Muskerry, 233.
 — Septs of, Clan Dermot, *alias*
 Clan Dermot, 36, 55N,
 60, 61, 68, 77, 145, 154,
 303.
 — — Clan Donnell Finn, 52, 53,
 74-5, 145, 303.
 — — Clan Donnell Roe, 36-37,
 38, 44N, 55N, 61, 62N, 68,
 148, 303.
 — — Clan Tadhg Roe na Sgaite,
 142, 143, 170, 171, 303,
 304, 305.
 — — Clan Teige Roe. *See* Tadhg
 Roe na Sgaite.
 — — Mac Finghin of Ardtully.
See Mac Fyneen.
 — — Mac Fyneen of Ardtully,
 57, 58, 59, 74, 75, 103,
 145, 148, 154, 278, 303.
 — — Sliocht Donnell Brick, 55-58,
 59, 304.
 — — Sliocht Cormac of Bally-
 camig, 304.
 — — Sliocht Cormac of Dungle,
 54, 58, 63, 72, 73, 74, 76,
 150, 189, 259, 304.
 — — present head of, 55.
 — — Sliocht Eoghan Mór of Cosh-
 maing, 303.
 — — *And see* Cosh Maing, Sliocht
 Eoghan Mór of.
 — — Sliocht Finghin Duff. *See*
 Finnin Duff.
 — — Sliocht Finnin Duff, of Ard-
 canaghty, 62, 150, 304.
 — — Clan Finghin, 143, 304.
 — — *Also* Sliocht Finghin in Car-
 bery.
 — — Sliocht Nedeem, 60, 77, 304.
 — — Sliocht nyne Rudderie, 57,
 58, 304.
 — — Sliocht Teige Kittagh, 60,
 77, 304.
 — — (Carbery), number of plough-
 lands held by, 123,

- Mac Carthys, the, Clan Crimen, 170, 176, 304.
 ——— Clan Dermot, 170, 171, 188, 304.
 ——— Clan Tadhg Dall, *alias* Ilen, 170, 171, 304.
 ——— Clan Teige Ilen. *See* Tadhg Dall *alias* Ilen.
 ——— Sliocht Corky, 175, 305.
 ——— Sliocht Cormac na Coille, 174, 175, 305.
 ——— Sliocht Dermot of Iniskeen, 304.
 ——— Sliocht Donough, 305.
 ——— Sliocht Felim of Glean-a-Chroim, 234, 304.
 ——— Sliocht Glas, 174, 175, 304.
 ——— Sliocht Owen, 305.
 ——— Sliocht Shane Roe, 305.
 ——— Tuath Bally ny Deyghie, 305.
 ——— Tuath ny Killie, 305.
 ——— (Muskerry), number of ploughlands held by, 123.
 ——— Clan Faddagh, 117, 155, 225N, 305.
 ——— Drishane or "Tuoghogee," 305.
 ——— *And see* Drishane.
 ——— Sliocht Cloghroe, 305.
 ——— *And see* Cloghroe.
 ——— Sliocht Cormac Oge, 155, 225N, 252, 306.
 ——— Sliocht Decane, 117, 155, 306.
 ——— Sliocht Seanachvill. *See* Shanakillie.
 ——— Sliocht Shanekillie, 117, 120, 128, 155, 225N, 252, 271-2, 305.
 ——— *See also* Shanekillie.
 ——— Sliocht Tuath na Dromin, 117, 120, 155, 225N, 252, 305.
 ——— *See also* Tuath na Dromin.
 Mac Connells, the, 46N.
 Mac Conroys, the, 192.
 Mac Carties of Headford, descent of, 275.
 Mac Coghlan, the, 246.
 Mac Costelloes, the, origin of, 202.
 Mac Crehans, the, lands of, 46, 47, 74, 75.
 ——— chief rent payable by to E. of Desmond, 46N.
 ——— in Spain, 47.
 ——— clans holding lands under, 65, 72.
 Mac Crohins, the, *See* Mac Crehans, the.
 Mac Dermot, Roe, 227.
 Mac Donnells, the, professional gallowglasses, 105.
 ——— of Antrim, their treatment of their followers, 244.
 ——— grant of land to chief of, 248.
 Mac Donoughs, the, surname taken by a branch of Mac Carthys, 12.
 ——— lands of, given to Dermot Mac Donough Mac Carthy, 71, 72.
 ——— of Sligo, chief rents from and grants to chief of, 226, 227.
 Mac Egan, Boolagh, 269.
 — Owen, 269.
 Mac Egans, the, their rights as brehons, 68.
 Mac Egans, lands held by, 117, 122, 153, 269-70.
 Mac Enrys, the, 191.
 Mac Evillies, the, 228.
 Mac Fyneen ne Longye (O'Driscoll), 168.
 Mac Gaurans, the, 240.
 Mac Gennis of Iveagh, Sir Arthur, 220.
 Mac Gennis of Iveagh, the, 201, 222.
 Mac Geoghegan, indenture of, with The Fox, 67N.
 — measures of land in lands of, 298.
 Mac Gillapatricks, the, friendship of chief's son with Edward VI, 209N.
 — chief confirmed in his possessions, 210N.
 — patent for lands given to chief, 211.
 — deprived of portion of lands, 246.
 Mac Gillmurrys, the, 224.
 Mac Gillycuddy of the Reeks, origin of, 45.
 — name taken by lesser clansmen, of 45.
 — dues payable by, 45, 46, 182.
 — his part in the Desmond rebellion, 46.
 — lands of, 46, 75.
 — still a landowner in Kerry, 48.
 — "ordinary forces" kept by, 103.
 Mac I Briens of Ara, the, intruders in Tipperary, 203N.
 — grant received by the chief, 237.
 Mac Ingen Auras, 174.

- Mac Jordans, the origin of, 202.
 Mac Kenna, grant of land to, 239.
 Mac Kernans, the, 240.
 Mac Loughlins, the, 199.
 Mac Mahon, Hugh Roe, 239.
 Mac Mahons, the, O'Neill acknowledged as overlord by, 201.
 — settlement of lands of, 219, 220, 239.
 Mac Murrrough Cavanagh, Art, 205.
 — Donnell, 205.
 Mac Murrroughs, the, position of, in Leinster, 205, 206, 207.
 Mac Namara, Sioda, grant of lands to, 210N, 211N, 213.
 "Mac Namara's rent roll," 16N, 169N, 228N.
 Mac Neill, Professor, cited, 72, 214N
 Mac Norans, the, hereditary serfs, 302.
 Mac Paddyns, the, 228.
 Mac Ryry, Murtagh, 64.
 Mac Sheehys, the, 301.
 Mac Swiny, Brian, Cloghda Castle held by, 125, 288.
 — Donal Mac Owen. *See* Donnell Mac Owen.
 — Donell McMoylemurry, 40.
 — Donnell Mac Owen, lands held by, 128N, 175, 269.
 — Donell Mc Oyn Ylloighey, 125, 261.
 — Owen, services of, to the Crown, 128N.
 — — land held by, 128N, 268, 269.
 — na Doe, his grant surrendered to Rory O'Donnell, 237.
 Mac Swinys, the, status of, 105, 121, 122, 222N, 301.
 — lands held by, 117, 253, 268-9, 288.
 — origin of, 121, 122, 268.
 — payment received by, 121, 268.
 — castles garrisoned by, 125, 268.
 Mac Teige ne Tough. *See* Mac Carthys, the, Septs of, Sliocht Donnell Brick.
 Mac Wattins, the, 202.
 Mac William Iachtar, origin of, 202.
 — his claims on the O'Malleys, 202N.
 — and composition of Connaught, 226.
 — chief rents granted to, 227N, 228.
 — succession to, to rest with the Lord Deputy, 228.
 — origin of, 202.
 — of Clanricarde, his claims to Sligo, 208.
 Mac William, Irish title for chief of the Barretts, 132.
 — *See also* Burke.
 Magennis. *See* Mac Gennis.
 Magner, Richard, 93.
 Magners, the, lands held by, 93.
 Maguire, Conor Roe, grant of land to, 239, 240, 243.
 — Cuconnaught, grant to, 239.
 — Cuconnaught II, promise of land to, 240.
 — — his flight, 242N.
 — Donn, 222N.
 — Hugh, 239.
 Maguires, the, their long line of direct succession, 33.
 — acknowledge O'Neill as overlord, 201.
 — increase of power of, 222.
 — chief's demesne lands small, 223.
 — lands held by, 239.
 — rival claimants to lands of, 239, 240.
 — "board land" held by, 302.
 Magunihy, Barony of, changes in boundaries of, 14N, 77.
 — — cess charged on, 20.
 — — holders of land in, 23, 25N, 47, 50, 53, 54, 59, 60, 62, 63, 75, 76, 146, 150.
 — — rents claimed by Knights of Kerry from, 182N.
 — East fractions of, 63, 78N, 275.
 — West fractions of, 54, 76, 77.
 "Marriage cows," payment of, 41, 131.
 Marshall, William, Lord of Leinster, 205.
 Marshal, Isabel le, 206.
 Mary, Queen, her friendliness to O'Connor Faly's daughter, 209.
 Mashanaglass, Castle of, owners of, 13, 78, 128N, 268-9.
 — garrisoned by the Mac Swinys, 128, 268.
 — dues payable to Lord of Muskerry from, 131, 269.
 Matehy, lands in, 291.
 Mayo, Irish landowners in, 197.
 — settlers in, 200.
 — the Mac Williams in, 202, 228.
 Meath, ceded to Henry II, 197.
 — granted to Hugh de Lacy, 198.
 — held to include Breffny, 200.
 "Men's portions," extent of, 96, 97, 298.
 Moinmór, Battle of, 141.
 Mole Murry, Edmund Mc, 58N.

Mona. *See* Mourne.
 Monaghan, conditions in, 191, 238.
 — part of Kingdom of Oirghialla, 199.
 — Mac Mahons in, 201.
 — overlordship of O'Neill recognised in, 201.
 — settlement of, in 1591, 219, 220, 239.
 — settlement of, confirmed, 239.
 — unit of measurement in, 298.
 Moriarties, the, 24, 62-3.
 Morohoes, the, lands held by, in Muskerry, 117.
 Mortimers, the (Earls of March), land held by, 199, 201.
 — ousted from Leix, 8, 206.
 — Crown's claims as heir of, 245.
 Mór-tuath, the, modern representative of, 299.
 Mourne. *See* Courtbrack and.
 Moycullen, Barony of, owners of land in, 190.
 Muckcross, owners of, 69, 71.
 — free from forfeiture since Tudor times, 71.
 — recovered by the Mac Carthys at Restoration, 70.
 — occupants of, in eighteenth century, 70.
 Munster, Mac Carthys in, 2 *et passim*.
 — Kings of South, 2, 4, 139, 140.
 — divisions of, into two kingdoms, 3, 140N, 141N.
 — Kings of North, 4, 204.
 — the Geraldines the dominant family of invaders in, 7.
 — divisions of, in Elizabethan times, 14N.
 — land measurements in, 15, 299.
 — Kings of, 137N, 140N, 141N.
 — policy of O'Conors in, 140.
 — Norman invasion of, 142.
 — boundary between two kingdoms of, 158.
 — the most powerful lords in, 203.
 — land titles in, 237N.
 — South. *See* Desmond.
 Muireadeach, son of Carthagh, 3, 138N, 140.
 Murry, Sliocht, land held by, 62.
 — dues payable to Mac Carthy Mór by, 62.
 — owners of lands of, in 1641, 63.
 — unconnected with the great clans, 63N.
 — limits of lands of, easily fixed, 74.

Muskerry, Barony of, rights of Mac Carthy Mór in, 13, 65, 78, 106, 268, 269.
 — — extent of, with Duhallow, 13N.
 — — lands in, to compensate loyalist Catholics, 254-5.
 — — large proportion of unfree population in, 66N.
 — — part of Magunihy now included in, 77.
 — — area of, 106, 108N, 126.
 — — clans holding lands in, 108, 122, 123, 172, 224, 252-3, 283 *et seq.*
 — — "rent of the Irish" of, 110.
 — — Lambeth MSS., description of, in, 116 *et seq.*
 — — septs of freeholders in, 117.
 — — large extent of demesne lands in, 122-3.
 — — won back from Normans, 123.
 — — divisions of, 125 *et seq.*
 — — separation of, from Duhallow, 130.
 — — boundary between Carbery and, 160.
 — — little individual ownership in, 215N.
 — — conditions attached to grants in, 248.
 — — holders of land in, in 1641, 233, 253, 256 *et seq.*
 — — land tenure in, in 1641, 253.
 — — treatment of land holders in, in 1641 and 1660, 254.
 — — disposal of lands in, at Restoration, 254-5.
 — — owners in, restored, 256, 257.
 — — the Lordship under Cormac Mac Teige's will, 263.
 — — lands held by professional classes in, 269.
 — — no peasant proprietorship in, in 1641, 283.
 — — alterations in parishes since *Down Survey*, 294.
 — — *See also* Mac Carthy of Muskerry.
 — Charles, 2nd Viscount, killed at sea, 255.
 — Cormac, 1st Viscount.
See Mac Carthy of Muskerry, Cormac Mac Cormac, 17th Lord.
 "Musteroon," meaning of, 20.

N.

Nangles, the, land given to, 200.

Nangles, the, name taken by, 202.
 Niall, Hy, Northern, 199.
 Niall of the Nine Hostages, 199.
 Non-free population; *See* Unfree population.
 Norfolk, Duke of, lands of, confiscated, 210.
 — Earls of, absentee owners, 205.
 Norreys, Sir Thomas, 38, 84.
 Nugents, 199.

O

- O'Bairres, the, 171, 172.
 O'Beirne, chief rents granted to, 227N.
 O'Byrnes, the, in Wicklow, 223.
 — — forfeiture of lands of, 236, 237.
 O'Brennans, the, lands held by, 56, 65.
 — subdivision of lands of, 72.
 — of Kilkenny, lands of, kept by the sword, 197.
 O'Brien, Brian, 164.
 — Conor na Catharach, 140N.
 — Donnell Mór, North Munster held by, 4, 141N, 142.
 — Donough, to succeed his uncle by tanistry, 215.
 — — Cairbrech, his attacks on the Mac Carthys, 6, 143, 162.
 — — — the first to call himself O'Brien, 9.
 — Mortogh, gives Cashel to the Church, 142.
 — Murrough, 9, 215.
 — Teige Glé, 141N, 142.
 — Turlough, 141N.
 — of Thomond, the O'Dalys hereditary poets to, 63.
 — — O'Dwyers subject to, 207.
 — — made an Earl, 211.
 — — position of, as landholder, 212, 213, 214.
 — — first Earl to be succeeded by his tanist, 215.
 O'Briens, the, their war on the Mac Carthys, 5, 141, 143, 161, 163.
 — lands held by, 16N, 203.
 — relations of, with Cormac Mac Carthy, 140.
 — their struggle with the O'Conors, 141.
 — position of, as kings of Munster, 204.
 — growth of power of, 222.
 O'Cahane of Londonderry, inaugurates O'Neill, 15N.
 O'Cahane, of Londonderry, dispute as to his tenure, 212, 241-2.
 — — imprisonment of, 242.
 — on fate of those who trust Englishmen, 242N.
 O'Callaghan, Brian Mac Owen, 89, 90.
 — Cahir "modder," his claim to the Lordship, 89-92.
 — — — commended for loyalty by James I., 94.
 — Callaghan, death of, without heirs, 83, 87, 88.
 — — II., 92.
 — Conogher (son of Donough), predeceases his father, 82, 83N.
 — — Genkagh, 85N.
 — — of the Rock, descent of, 83.
 — — — his succession by tanistry, 83.
 — — — his petition for surrender and regrant, 84.
 — — — inquisition on his lands, 84.
 — — — lands of, surrendered and regranted, 86.
 — — — enfeoffments by, 89.
 — — — his title declared void, 90-1
 — — — death of, 92.
 O'Callaghan, Dermot Bane, 85N.
 — Mac Teige, 84.
 — Donough ("le Aisé,") death of, 81, 87.
 — — acknowledges Henry VIII., 82-3.
 — — disposal of his estates, 82-3, 87.
 — — (son of Cahir), 92.
 — — Mac Thomas, 86.
 — — le Puisné, his position with regard to the lordship, 82, 87.
 — — — death of, 87, 88.
 — Elena, 92.
 — Murrough Mac Brian, 89, 90.
 — Shane Mac Teige, 85N.
 — Teige Roe, identity of, 81.
 — — descendants of, 83, 86.
 O'Callaghans, the, lands held by, 12, 79, 80, 86, 96, 97, 117, 118.
 — — origin of, 80.
 — — dispute as to lordship, resulting in the case de Tanistry and *see* Tanistry, 81.
 — — position of, as landholders, 81N, 94-5, 122, 233.
 — — members of clan holding lands, 84.
 — — pedigree of, 88.

- O'Callaghans, the, effect on clansmen of result of the "case," 86.
 — in Clare, 92.
 — submission of, to William III., 100.
 — "ordinary forces" kept by the chief, 103.
 — rents and dues from confirmed to Lord of Duhallow, 232.
- O'Carrolls, the, chiefs of Eoghanacht Loch Lein, 23, 24.
 — of Ely, the, lands of, surrendered by the heiress, 89.
 — lands held by, 203.
 — lose part of their lands, 246.
 — the, Tanistry in history of, 91.
 — of Oirghialla, 199.
- O'Collinses, the, 162.
- O'Connell, Sir Ross, 164.
- O'Connells, the, origin of, 25.
 — lands of, 25, 72.
 — disappearance of clan organisation of, 221N.
 — status of, 301.
- O'Conor, Cathal Crobh Derg, 141.
- O'Conor, Donnell, 226.
- O'Conor, Sir Donough, 227.
- O'Conor, Ruaidhri, 141, 197.
- Turlough Mór King of Connaught 3, 139, 140, 141.
 — of Offaly, Brian, 213N.
 — Don, 227.
 — Roe, 227.
- O'Conors, the, disappearance of ruling house in Clare, 16.
 — origin of, in Clare, 223N.
 — policy of, in Munster, 140, 146N.
 — position of, in Connaught, 200.
 — lands held by, 202, 205.
 — claims to rent from, in Sligo, 208, 226, 227.
 — Sliocht Owine O'Conor, 227.
- O'Cowhigs, the, 166.
- O'Cronins, the, lands held by, 117, 253.
 — position of, as landholders, 121.
- O'Crowleys, the, 158, 174.
- O'Dálaigh. *See* O'Daly.
- O'Daly, Gofraidh Fionn, his exhortations to Donnell Oge II., 24, 147.
- O'Dalys, the, hereditary poets, lands held by, 50, 63, 117, 172, 269, 274, 275.
 — free from dues, 63, 72.
 — original home of, 63, 172.
 — status of, 63, 122, 253, 269, 274.
- O'Dalys, the, their rights in Desmond and Duhallow, 68.
 — arrest of the chief of, 172.
 — overlords of, in Muintervarry, 174.
- O'Dempseys, the, 205, 298.
- O'Doherty, lands granted to, 237.
 — revolt of, 241.
- O'Donegans, the, dues payable by, 35, 64.
 — land held by, 64, 65.
 — clan lands of, given to the chief, 72, 248N.
- O'Doinin, chroniclers to Lords of Muskerry, 117, 122, 253, 269.
 — lose their lands, 269.
- O'Donnell, Sir Neal Garve, 242,
 — Rory. *See* Tyrconnell, Earl of.
- O'Donnells, the, land held by, 199, 201.
 — increase of power of, 222.
 — *See also* Tyrconnell, Earl of.
- O'Donoghue, Conor, "heir of Cashel," 137N.
 — Eoghanacht, 52.
 — of the Glen, lands of, 27, 71, 74.
 — the will of Charles Mac Carthy Mór, disputed by, 71.
 — "ordinary forces" kept by, 103.
 — Mór, dues payable by, 26, 27.
 — lands of, 26, 74.
 — death of, followed by confiscation of clan lands, 26, 179, 236N, 248N.
 — "ordinary forces" kept by, 103.
- O'Donoghues, the, descent and territory of, 22, 23.
 — confusion between two distinct families of, 23.
 — battle between O'Mahonys and, 23.
 — Kings of Loch Lein, 24.
 — their relations with Mac Carthys and O'Sullivans, 24.
 — the, two branches of, 25, 26.
 — lands of, forfeited, 26, 179, 236N, 248N.
 — lands held by, 50, 74, 137N.
 — the, Moriartys ousted by, 24, 63N.
- O'Donovan, Cathal, 169.
 — Crom, 162.
- O'Donovans, the, lands held by, 123, 144, 158, 162, 165, 168-70, 176, 284.
 — grants to, by James I., 157, 170.

- O'Donovans, the, migration of, from County Limerick, 5, 144, 162.
 — — quarrels of, with O'Driscolls and O'Mahonys, 162.
 — — dues payable by, 169.
 — — divisions of, 169.
 — — septs of, 170N, 175.
 — — chief rents granted to, under James I., 179, 181.
 — the, subdivision of lands held by, 234.
 O'Dowd, Sen Bhrian, 224.
 O'Dowds, the, English expelled by, 224, 226.
 — — grant to chief of, 227.
 O'Driscoll, Conogher, 170.
 — Mór, position of, in Carbery, 17.
 — — lands held by, 166.
 — — dues payable by, 168.
 — — Oge, lands held by, 166, 168.
 — — dues payable by, 168.
 O'Driscolls, the, lands won from, by other clans, 5.
 — — dues payable by, to Earls of Desmond, 9, 182.
 — — septs of, 17, 167, 168, 180, 181.
 — — lands held by, 121, 158, 166, 168, 176N, 284.
 — — subdivision of lands of, 234.
 — — the, origin of, 159.
 — — inquisitions relating to, 157, 166-8.
 — — their territory curtailed, 162.
 — — dues levied by, on shipping, 167.
 — — their conflicts with Waterford, 173N.
 — — position of, under James I., 179.
 O'Duans, the, 192.
 O'Dunne of Iregan, duties payable to, 238.
 O'Duinnin (*see* O'Doinin), historian to Mac Carthy Mór, 68.
 O'Dwyers, the, 203, 207.
 O'Echoy. *See* Mac Dunslevys, the.
 O'Falvys, the, origin and history of, 25.
 — — lands held by, 25, 72.
 — — modern representatives of, 24.
 O'Felans, the, "expropriation" of, 198.
 O'Ferralls, the, their land recovered from the English, 199, 224.
 O'Ferralls, controversy between chief and clansmen of, 220.
 — — treatment of, by the Crown, 245.
 Offaly, Norman owners of, 205.
 O'Flaherty, Daniel Coggie, 191.
 — Donald Crone, 229N.
 — Donnell na Comthach, 192.
 O'Flaherty, Gilleduffe, lands held by, 190, 191, 192.
 — Moroghe, Sept of, lands held by, 190.
 — — son of Daniell Coggie, 191.
 — — na Moire, 234N.
 — Sir Murrough na Doe, lands held by, 180.
 — — — chief rents to, 180, 228.
 — — — the "Queen's O'Flaherty," 191N.
 — — — descent of, 192.
 — — — made Chief by Queen Elizabeth, 229N.
 — Murtough, 191.
 — Owen, 191.
 — Roderic (author of Ogygia), 191, 298, 299.
 — Rorie Oge, Sept of, 190.
 — Rory, 191.
 — Teige na Buile, Tanist of, 191.
 — — descent of, 192.
 — — position of, 229.
 — — Teige Oge, land held by, 230, 231.
 O'Flahertys, division of lands of, 190, 192, 230.
 — the, composition with, 190, 191, 192.
 — — lands held by, 191, 192, 223, 228, 229.
 — — descent of, 192.
 — — their freedom recovered, 202.
 — — chief rents payable by, to Clanricarde, 202N.
 O'Flynn, the, original owners of Muskerry, 108.
 — — disappearance of, as land-owners in Muskerry, 6, 107N, 266, 283.
 O'Flynn, of Antrim, position of, under O'Neills, 224.
 O'Garas, the, grant to chief of, 227.
 — — reconquer Sligo lands, 226.
 O'Gevenys, the, hereditary serfs, 302.
 O'Glavins, the, 173.
 O'Griffins, the, land held by, 63, 64.
 O'Hallorans, the, lands held by, 191, 192.
 O'Hanlons, the, in Armagh, 201, 237N.
 — — confiscation of lands of, 242.
 O'Haras, the, reconquer their Sligo lands, 226.
 — — grant to chief of, 227, 238.
 O'Healihys, the, lands held by, 117, 121, 125, 253, 258.
 — — status of, 121, 265, 288.
 — — number holding lands in Muskerry in 1641, 123, 266.

- O'Healihys, the, connection of, with Earls of Donoughmore, 266.
 O'Healys, the. *See* O'Healihys, the.
 O'Heas, the, anglicised form of name, 166N.
 — — position of, 166N, 183.
 O'Herlihs, the, lands held by, 117, 125, 253, 281.
 — — status of, 121, 288.
 — — number holding lands in Muskerry in 1641, 123.
 — — dues payable by, 131.
 O'Huidhrin, cited, 25N, 80.
 O'Hunans, the. *See* O'Nunans.
 O'Hurley. *See* O'Herlihy.
 Oilíoll, Olum, descendants of, 23.
 Oirghialla, kingdom of, 199.
 — — clans of, 201.
 O'Keeffe, Art, commended for loyalty by James I., 94.
 — — whole territory of clan granted to, 96, 102, 233.
 — — Daniel, 87N.
 — — Eleanor, heiress to lands of Donough O'Callaghan, 87, 88.
 — — Manus, heir to lands of Donough O'Callaghan, 87, 88.
 — — his interest in O'Callaghan lands surrendered, 89.
 O'Keeffes, the, lands held by, 79, 87, 96, 97.
 — — origin and history of, 80.
 — — dues payable by, 95, 232.
 — — fighting men of, slain by Earl of Desmond, 94, 102, 233.
 — — "ordinary forces" kept by chief of, 103.
 O'Kellys, the, reconquer lands from English, 202, 224.
 — — Ormonds in the lands of, 228.
 O'Kennedys, the, fate of their chief, 164.
 — — lands held by, 203.
 — — their lands seized by the Crown, 246.
 O'Kirkes, the, landholders in Du-hallow, 96, 97.
 O'Laeghaire, the (*see also* O'Leary), lands held by, 284N.
 Old Castle in Muskerry, 266N, 267N.
 — — Elizabeth Mac Carthy of, 267.
 — — Teige Mac Callaghan Mac Carthy of, 267.
 Oldenburg, area of, 13N.
 O'Leary, Helen, 286.
 — — Kedagh, 286.
 O'Learys, the, lands held by, 117, 119, 121, 123, 252, 253, 284, 285.
 O'Learys, the, status of, 120, 166, 252
 — — origin of and emigration from Carbery, 121, 165, 284, 285.
 — — the, attempts of Lords of Muskerry to dispossess them, 123, 233, 251, 252, 285.
 — — number holding land in Muskerry in 1641, 123, 233, 285, 286.
 O'Leary, Mac Carthy, family of, 279N.
 O'Levies, the. *See* O'Levys, the.
 O'Levys, the, lands set apart for, 117, 253, 269.
 — — probable modern name of, 122
 — — surgeons to Lord of Muskerry, 253.
 — — lands of, handed over to Lord of Muskerry, 269.
 O'Linchighs, the, dues payable by, 35, 64.
 — — the, lands held by, 64.
 — — all clan lands given to the chief, 72, 248N.
 O'Liney. *See* O'Linty.
 O'Linty, varying versions of the name, 41N.
 — — Dermot, 41.
 Olioll Olum, 158.
 O'Long, John, 288, 289.
 O'Longs, the, lands held by, 117, 125, 253, 288, 289.
 — — status of, 121.
 — — only one landowner of the name in Muskerry in 1641, 124.
 — — dues payable by, 121, 131.
 — — all clan lands held by chief, 288.
 — — the, fate of lands of, at Restoration, 289.
 O'Loughlins, the, 223N.
 O'Loughans, the, hereditary serfs, 302.
 O'Lynes, the, proprietors in Dunkerron, 41, 65, 72, 76, 223.
 O'Maddens, the, 202.
 O'Mahony, Conogher Imagher, 124N
 — — Conogher Mac Fyneen, 124N, 287
 — — Cormac Mac Fyneen, 287.
 — — Darby, 287.
 — — Dermot, slain by Mac Carthy and O'Donovan, 162.
 — — Dermot Mac Teige, 287.
 — — Donal Mac Conogher, attainted, 287.
 — — Donnacadh, 162.
 — — Donough, 287.
 — — Finin Roe, 287N.
 — — Flann, dominions of, 160.
 — — Teige Mac Dermot, 124N,

- O'Mahony, Fine, lands of, 172
 O'Mahonys, dispossessed of their lands, 5, 162, 163, 248N, 253, 286.
 — the, origin of, 23, 121.
 — feuds of, 23, 162.
 — lands held by, 106, 108, 117, 119, 123-25, 158-61, 165, 173, 174, 176N, 183, 252, 284, 287, 288.
 — the, subjection of, to lords of Muskerry, 107N, 185, 252.
 — septs subject to, 173.
 — number of, holding land in Muskerry in 1641, 124.
 — rights of tanist of Muskerry over, 126.
 — ancestors of, kings of Desmond, 140, 161.
 — importance of, 159.
 — subjection of, to Donnell Gott Mac Carthy, 162.
 — the, dues payable by, to Mac Carthy Reagh, etc., 170, 173.
 — — Septs of, 172, 173, 181N, 252.
 — — their claim to be freeholders, 252.
 — their encroachments on lands of Corca Laidhe, 284.
 — the, status of, in Desmond, 301.
 — of Kinelmeaky, lands held by, 176N, 185.
 — — Mac Carthy Reagh's claims to lands of, 185, 186.
 — — confiscation of lands of, 185, 186, 234, 236.
 — — chief residence of, 187.
 O'Malley, Grace, Elizabeth's treatment of, 209.
 O'Malleys, the, their lands, kept by the sword, 197.
 — their position in Connaught, 202.
 O'Meganess, the hereditary serfs, 302
 O'Mehigans, the, 173.
 O'Melaghlins, the, the recovery of their lands, 199.
 — — deprived of part of their lands, 246.
 O'Melaghlins, measures of land in country of, 298.
 O'Molloys, the, 246.
 O'More, Lysaght, 206.
 — Rory, 223N.
 O'Mores, the, Mortimer's lands entrusted to, 206.
 O'Moriartys, the, chiefs of Eoghanacht Loch Lein, 23, 24.
 — — ousted by the O'Donoghues, 24.
 O'Muldorys, the, 199.
 O'Mullanes, the, 86.
 O'Murphys, the, 121.
 O'Murrihys of Ballywiddan, 177.
 O'Neill. *See* Tyrone, Earl of.
 — Aedh, 6, 143.
 — Clan Hugh Boy. *See* O'Neills of Clandeboy, the.
 — Con, made an Earl, on submission to Crown, 211.
 — — position of, as landholder, 212.
 — — allowed to choose his heir, 215.
 — Hugh, insurrection of, 18, 237, 238.
 — — attitude of rival lords of Duhallo to, 98.
 — — his hatred of the English, 132.
 — — claims of, 212.
 — — *See also* Tyrone, Earl of.
 — Matthew, to succeed Con as Earl of Tyrone, 215.
 — Shane, Elizabeth's war against, 18.
 — — Elizabeth's treatment of, 209.
 — — the first to arm his peasants, 301.
 — of the Fews, land held by, 237, 243N.
 O'Neills, the, their power in Tyrone, 18.
 — — dissensions between the O'Reillys and, 18.
 — — lands held by, 56, 65, 72, 199, 201.
 — — rise of, 137.
 — — subjected to the de Burgos, 201.
 — — in O'Sullivan country, 65, 223.
 — English expelled by, from Down and Antrim, 224.
 — of Clandeboy, lands held by, 201, 224, 248.
 O'Nolans, the, 207.
 O'Nunans (or O'Hunans), the, 94.
 O'Reilly, Edmund, 240.
 — Sir John, 240.
 — Philip, 240.
 O'Reillys, the, dissensions between the O'Neills and, 18.
 — — their power in Cavan, 18.
 Orghialla. *See* Oirghialla.
 O'Riordans, "followers," of lords of Muskerry, 121, 276.
 — the, lands held by, 117, 118, 122, 276.
 Ormond, Barony of, Mac Egans in, 122, 269.
 — — O'Kennedys in, 203N, 246.

- Ormond, Barony of, Strafford's confiscation of, 211N, 246.
- Earls of, death of Thomas, 202.
- — James Butler created, 203.
- — claims of, swept aside, 182N.
- — land held by, 206, 207, 228.
- — conditions in country held by, 207.
- — rivalry of, with FitzGerald, 208.
- — treaty of, with Mac Murrough, *re* Arklow, 207.
- — lands of heirs of, confiscated, 210.
- James, Earl of, translates Deputy's speech in Parliament, 211.
- — dormant claims of, in Con-nacht allowed, 228.
- O'Rourke, Manus Oge, 30.
- O'Rourkes, the, 200, 246.
- O'Shaughnessy, Sir Roger, 229N.
- O'Shaughnessys, the, patent for lands given to the chief, 211.
- all clan lands granted to chief, 229, 248.
- O'Sheas, the, 6, 25, 48.
- Ossory, landholders in, 206.
- Earl of. *See* Butler, Piers.
- O'Sullivan, Daniel (heir of O'Sullivan Bere), 43.
- — (of Dunkerron), 43.
- — Dermot (of Ballaghbuy), 39, 40.
- — Donnell (son of Philip the Tanist), 38.
- — Owen (in Iveragh), 56.
- — Colonel Owen, in Spain, 44.
- — Philip (the historian), 39, 66N.
- — Philip the Tanist, 31, 37, 39.
- — Bere, dues payable by, to Mac Carthy Mór, 14, 28-30, 67.
- — dispute as to the lordship of, 14, 31 *et seq.*
- — lands held by, 27, 36, 37, 40, 44, 61.
- — submission of, to the Crown, 28.
- — agreement between Mac Carthy Mór and, 28, 66-7.
- — dues payable to, 34-38, 39, 41, 64.
- — lands granted to the tanist, 34, 37.
- — freeholders under, 37.
- — relations of, with Earl of Desmond, 41-2.
- — Mac Carthy Septs siding with, 55N.
- — "ordinary forces" kept by, 103.
- O'Sullivan, Bere, land tenure under, 215N, 248.
- — Colonel Daniel, 42, 43, 44.
- — Dermot, 39.
- — Dermot Ballogh, 36.
- — Donnell (the elder), 31.
- — Donnell (the younger), 28, 31-39, 44, 238, 279.
- — his relations with the English, 28, 32.
- — Owen Mac Carthy of Drishane's attack on, 279.
- — descendants of, 44.
- — Sir Owen, 27.
- — — 28, 31, 39, 44.
- — — descendants of, 44.
- — claim for restoration of lands of, 42, 43.
- — Owen (son of Sir Owen), 32, 38N, 41, 238.
- — *See also* Bere and Bantry, Barony of.
- Mael. *See* Mac Fineen Duff, under O'Sullivans, Septs of the.
- Mór, exercise of his veto in inauguration of Mac Carthy Mór, 15, 98.
- — power of, 18.
- — lands held by, 44-49, 75-6.
- — dues payable from lands of, 48.
- — death of the last, and destruction of records of, 45, 164.
- — chief rents received by, 45, 49.
- — most of O'Sullivan territory directly subject to, 47.
- — "ordinary forces" kept by, 103.
- — Donnell, 76.
- — Owen, 27N, 32N.
- O'Sullivans, the, origin of, 3, 23.
- — migration of, from Tipperary, 5, 144, 161, 223.
- — lands of, 27, 137N, 162.
- — destruction of, 47, 48.
- — relationship of branches of, 49.
- — large estates held by individuals, 72, 223, 224.
- — *See also* O'Sullivan Bere, O'Sullivan Mór.
- O'Sullivans, the, Septs of in Bere, lands held by, 34.
- — their obligations, 35.
- — increase of, 216N, 278.
- — Clan Lawras, 34, 40, 41.
- — Mac Fineen Duff, 34, 37, last member of, 40.
- — Sliocht Mac Rury (Mac Gillycuddy), 45.

O'Sullivans, the, Septs of in Dunkerron, 47^N.
 — — Sliocht Mac Craigh, 47, 48.
 — — in Iveragh, O'Sullivan of Ballyvicgilleneulan, 48, 65.
 — — — of Glenbeigh, 47^N, 48, 54.
 O'Toole, Art, patent for lands given to, 211.
 — Turlough, patent for lands given to, 211.
 O'Tooles, the, lands held by, 192.
 — — lands seized by, in Wicklow, 223.

P. Q.

"Palace," the, *see* Pallis.
 Pale, the, territory covered by, 199.
 — — fear of dispossession in, 247^N.
 Pallis, residence of Mac Carthy Mór, 19, 70.
 — inherited by Florence Mac Carthy, 69.
 — recovered by the Mac Carthys at Restoration, 70.
 — taken by Earl of Kildare, 151.
 Parishes, often identical with *tuaths*, 64, 74, 125, 299.
 Parliament, Irish chiefs present in, 211.
 Pembroke, Earls of, lands held by, 205.
 Perch, difference between an English and Irish, 298-9.
 Percival, John, 101.
 — Sir Philip, 100.
 — "Esq.," 100.
 Petits, the, 199.
 Petty, Sir William, acquires O'Sullivan lands, 43.
 Plantations, given up by James I., 246.
 — *See also* Longford, Wexford, etc.
 Ploughland, a, extent of, 15, 298, 299.
 Plunkett, Richard, claims of to Cavan, 200^N.
 Plunketts, the, 198-9.
 Power, Robert, 202.
 Powers, the, land held by, 203.
 — — tenure of, 248-9.
 Prendergasts, the, 110.
 Professional classes, the, status of, 122.
 Protestants, position of, under Commonwealth, 293.
 "Quarter," origin of term, 14.
 — varying meanings of, 298.

Queen's County, the English in, 224.
 — — "plantation" in, 247.
 Quirke, Catherine, 292.
 "Quiren," a value of, 20.

R.

Raithleann, Rath, position of, 109
 — — seat of the O'Mahonys, 109, 160.
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, Cormac Oge Mac Carthy page to, 260^N, 263.
 Rebels, distinction made between English and Irish, 1^N.
 — Elizabeth's treatment of, 235, 236.
 Records, destruction of, 45, 163-165.
 Reenard, the O'Neills at, 65.
 Rents, in lieu of old duties in kind, 41.
 — form of payment of, 178.
 Restoration, fate of landowners at, 292.
 — the, land settlement under. *See* Act of Settlement.
 Rinnuccini, Giovanni Battista, visits Ardully, 59.
 Riordans, *see* O'Riordans.
 Roche, John, 88.
 — Margery, 135.
 — Lord, doubtful title of, 237^N.
 Roches, the, lands held by, 12, 106, 163, 177.
 — — Carrignavar yielded to Mac Carthys by, 112, 257.
 — — castles held by, in Kinelea, 185.
 — — relation of to Desmonds, 204.
 Rochford, J., claims of in Leitrim, 200^N.
 Roscommon, 202.
 Rosscarbery, 177.
 "Rout," meaning of, 20.
 Rural deanery, the, older divisions represented by, 108, 160, 266, 299.
 Rye, Ann, wife of George, 263, 290^N.
 — George, 290^N.

S.

St. Gobnata, 281.
 St. John, Sir Oliver, 242.
 — of Jerusalem, Knights of, wardens of Killorglin, 12.
 St. Leger, John, 136.

St. Leger, Sir Warham, 19N.
 Saorbhrethagh, or Justin, 139
 Sarsfield, Patrick, 280N.
 Sarsfields, the, 254.
 — — See also Kilmallock, Lord.
 Savages, the, 201.
 Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, area of, 13N.
 Saxony, area of, 13N.
 Scotland, Western Isles of, condition of labourers in, 67N 301.
 Seeböhm cited, 21, 22N, 30, 66, 216, 231, 301, 302.
 Scully, Margaret ny, petition of, 68.
 Sempell, Sir James, 185.
 Septs, reason for increase of, 216.
 — grant of lands of, 227, 229, 234, 248.
 — ownership by, in 1641, 230.
 Shaen, Sir Francis, 299.
 Shanekillie, lands of, 271.
 — Donald Mac Phelim Mac Carthy of, 271.
 — Donough Mac Owen Mac Carthy of, 271.
 — Owen Mac Donough Mac Carthy of, 271.
 Sheehy, Clan, 105.
 Sidney, Sir Henry, 79, 83N, 93, 131, 220, 225.
 Silken Thomas, rebellion of, 196, 208.
 Silver, Owen, 267N, 270.
 Simnel, Lambert, 114, 207N.
 Skiddy, George, 280N, 281, 283.
 — Nicholas, 280, 281N, 282.
 Slaves, references to, 300, 301.
 Sligo, settlers in, 200.
 — owners of, 202.
 — O'Donnell's claim to, 201N, 208, 226, 227.
 — English expelled from, 224.
 — claims to and settlement of, 226, *et. seq.*
 — the barony in, 300.
 Smythes, Justice Jessua, 165N, 186.
 "Sorren," meaning of, 20.
 "Sorrenmore," meaning of, 20.
 Spain, Donnell O'Sullivan dies in, 28, 31.
 Spaniards, the, landing of, at Kinsale, 32.
 Spanish ships, dues from, 30.
 "Sroan," meaning of, 20.
 Statute of Absentees. See Act of Absentees.
 Stephenson, Elizabeth, 59N.
 — — See Fyneen.
 Strongbow, Leinster granted to, 205.

Strafford. Earl of, confiscation projected by, 246.
Strafford Surveys of Connaught and Ormond, purpose of, 293.
 Sughrues, grant of lands to, 189.
 Surrey, Earl of, 210.

T.

Taafe, Sir W., 124, 287.
 Tadhg, King of Desmond, 34, 140, 141.
 Talbot, Peter, 44.
 Tanistry, "Le case de," 81, *et seq.*
 — effect of decision regarding, 91.
 — meaning of, 138.
 — disadvantages of, 156.
 — attitude of Henry VIII. to, 214.
 "Tath," a, extent of, 298.
 Taxes, method of levying, 22.
 Tennyson, Lord, 70N.
 Terrys, the, 136.
 Thomond, owners of land in, 172.
 — Earl of. See O'Brien of Thomond.
 Thornton, George, 38.
 Tipperary, the Mac Carthys in, 24, 187.
 — landowners in, 197, 203, 204, 222.
 — vested in the Crown, 210.
 — the English in north, 224.
 — measures of land in, 299.
 Tirrell, attack on, 279.
 Tooreen Cormac, battlefield of, 7, 146.
 Townlands, persistence of names of, 293-4.
 "Tricha-ced," a, extent of, 14, 298, 299.
 Trim, lordship of, 198.
 Trughanacmy, Barony of, lands in, 12N.
 — — owners of land in, 24, 62, 63, 150.
 "Tuath," the, represented by parishes, 64, 74, 125, 299.
 — — varying extent of, 299, 300.
 "Tuaths," number of, 299.
 Tuath na Dromin, lands of, 131, 280, 281-3.
 — family of, 281-2.
 — — number of proprietors in, in 1641, 283.
 — fate of, at Restoration and after, 283.
 — Barry Mac Carthy of, 283.
 — Charles Mac Carthy of, 283.
 — Daniel Mac Dermot Mac Carthy of, 282.

- Tuath na Dromin, Dermot Mac Dowell Oge Mac Carthy of, 282N.
- Fyneen Mac Dermot Oge Mac Carthy of, 280N.
- Fyneen Mac Donnell Oge Mac Carthy of, 282.
- Teige Mac Daniel Oge Mac Carthy of, 282.
- Tudors, the, their attitude to the Irish, 209.
- their respect for justice, 244.
- Tyrconnell, Earl of (O'Donnell, Rory).
- land taken from the people by, 221.
- lands restored to, after Rebellion, 237.
- flight of, 241.
- English tenures not granted by, 243.
- all Donegal granted to, 248.
- *See also* O'Donnells, the.
- Tyrone, the O'Neills in, 18.
- social conditions in, 18, 19.
- owners of, 199, 201, 237.
- O'Neill's claim to, 212.
- greater part of, vested in the Crown, 241, 242.
- grants to natives in, 244.
- Earl of (O'Neill, Con), succession by tanistry allowed to, 215.
- (O'Neill, Hugh), treatment of his tenants, 66.
- land taken from the people by, 221.
- land held by, 237.
- his claims in Derry, 241.
- flight of, 241.
- English tenure not granted by, 243.
- *See also* O'Neill, Hugh.
- U. V.
- Ui Cairbre Aedha, 165.
- Ui Conaill Gabhra, 142N.
- Ui Eachach, relation of to the O'Donoghues, 23.
- revolt of, against Cormac Mac Carthy, 140.
- kingship of Desmond held by, 140.
- descendants of, 159.
- diocese of Cork represents lands of, 299.
- Ui Flonn Lua. *See* Iflanloe.
- Ulidia, O'Neill overlord of, 201.
- Ulster, conditions in, 18, 19.
- cost of fighting forces of in 1579, 105.
- land system in, 196.
- end of the kingdom of, 199.
- owners of, 199, 200, 201, 202.
- the English in, 199, 224.
- invaded by Edward Bruce, 201.
- reconquered from the English, 201, 224.
- the Crown the legal owner of, 210.
- position of clans in, 236.
- "plantation" of, 243, 244, 248.
- Inquisition on church lands in, 265.
- unit of measurement in, 298.
- Earls of, *see* De Burgos, the.
- Undertakers, meaning of the term, 26.
- lands granted to, 243, 245.
- frauds of, 245.
- Unfree population, distinctive mark of, 66, 301.
- the, obligations of, 66, 67.
- classification of, 122.
- the, a separate caste, 300.
- distinction between "weaponed men" and, 301.
- treatment of, in war, 301.
- distinction between free and, swept away, 302.
- Valentia, owners of, 54, 55, 56, 58.
- Tadhg, Baron of, 150, 152.
- Vassals, obligations of, to their overlord, 15-18, 28-30.
- Virginia, Irish shipped off to, 245N.
- W
- Wales, rights of princes in, 21, 22N, 30, 31.
- division of families in, 53N, 193.
- payment of tribesmen to princes in, 62.
- non-tribesmen in, 66.
- obligation to military service in, 105.
- longevity of princes in, 153.
- Henry VIII's treatment of, 209.
- land system in, 216, 230, 231, 285.
- non-tribesmen in, 301, 302.
- land measures in, 300.
- Wallis, Thomas, of Diishane, 276.
- Walsingham, Sir Francis, 225.
- Walter, Theobald, North Tipperary granted to, 5, 203.

- Walter, Theobald, Dermot Mac Carthy slain by, 5, 142.
 Warbeck, Perkin, 114.
 Water, Stephen, 125, 261.
 Waterford, landowners in, 197.
 — Desmond's claims in, 203.
 "West Fractions, The," districts denoted as, 54.
 — — ownership in, in 1641, 63.
 Westmeath, Earl of, 245^N.
 Wexford, number of persons claiming clan lands in, 180, 221^N, 234, 235.
 — "plantation" of, 181, 245.
 — Norman land owners of, 205, 206.
 — fixity of tenure in, 216.
 White Knight, the, 236.
 Whites, the, in Bantry, 44.
 — — in Ulster, 201.
- Whiddy or Whyddy *alias* Ffwydye or Foyd, owners of, 27^N, 34, 37.
 Wicklow, Irish hold, 205-6.
 — clans seize lands in, 223.
 Wigornia, Philip de, *see* Worcester, Philip de.
 Windsor, Treaty of, provisions of, 197.
 Women, inability of, to inherit, under Irish law, 89, 92.
 Worcester, Philip de, South Tipperary granted to, 5.
- Y
- Ylloighey, Donel Mac Oyn, *see* Mac Swiny, Donell Mac Oyn Ylloighey.
 Youghal, compensation for loyalist Catholics of, 254-5.



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